MARWAR AND THE MARATHAS
(1724 - 1843 A. D.)

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PREFACE

Marwar, known as *Marubhumi*, has a romantic history it has hardly any parallel else-where The traditions of the ad have preserved the momory of the valour and exploits of rulers and commoners in defence of their home, religion and lture against the invaders Its history has been a story of 'Glories Marwar and Glorious Rathores' down to the period under view. However no connected account of the relations of the lers of Marwar with the Marathas, who came into political rominence in India during the period of the Mughal decline, rists Modern research has touched only a fringe of it in some f the specialised works on the Maratha history but none has nade full use of all the material available in Rajasthan In the resent work an attempt has been made to utilise all the vailable Persian, Sanskrit, Rajasthani, Marathi and English ources and on the basis of their critical scrutiny a balanced iew has been put forward, for the first time, with sympathy nd understanding

As far as I could, it has been my endeavour to base this work on the original and contemparary manuscripts, chronicles, documents and other available sources I have collected a mass of new facts, sifted them thoroughly and derived conclusions on their basis I have tried to be as impartial as I could

The work is furnished with numerous maps The illustrations have been selected very carefully mainly on account of their interest in themselves and for their value in supplementing the narrative Copies of some of the Rajasthani and English contemporary documents, connected with the subject matter of the study, have also been given in the Appendix

towards the end of the work. An attempt has been made adopt, whenever possible. the dates in *Vikram* era as giv in Rajasthani documents. While changing them to the chris an era, it has been kept in view that the new year in Marw began on the first day of the dark-half of *Sravana*, unlike t new year in the rest of Rajasthani documents of other states v Jaipur, Udaipur, where the year commenced from the mon of *Chaitra*.

While presenting this work to the University of Rajast an,I held back from tracing the rise and expansion of the Rathc in Marwar, as it was rather out of place and had no direct bea ing on the main theme of the thesis. I skipped directly to t times when the Rathor rulers came into contact with the risi Maratha power under Shivaji. However, in the present wor I have added the expansion of the Rathor power in Marw from the middle of thirteenth century to the middle of sevent enth century as an 'Introduction' in order to provide a compı hensive link to the political status, which the Rathors held the time of their first contact with the Marathas.

I am deeply indebted to the Director, National Archive of India, New Delhi; Director, State Archives, Rajasthan Bikaner; Curator, Bhartiya Itihas Sansodhan Mandal, Poon Curator, Pustak Prakash, Umed Bhawan, Jodhpur and Libraria rswati Bhandar, Udaipur for their kindness in providing m facilities for taking down notes from the original manuscript chronicles and documents preserved there and in allowing m to consult reference books in their custody. I am also gratef to the authorities of Sumer Public Library Jodhpur; Gahl Library, Jodhpur; M.B. College Library, Udaipur; Governme College Library, Ganganagar; Public Library, Bikaner; Ano Sanskrit Library, Bikaner and the University Library, Jaipur fo their kindness to allow me an access to their assests and provi ing me with all facilities of study.

My grateful thanks are due, first and foremost, to Dr G N. arma, who, as Professor and Head of History Department, B College Udaipur (now Reader, History Deptt. Rajasthan niversity) inspired me to devote myself to the study of hisry and without whose invaluable guidance and advice, this ork could never have been completed I am also deeply gratel to Professor N R Khadgavat, Director, Rajasthan Archieves ikaner, who gave valuable suggestions to me at various times. owe great acknowledgement to Dr Dasrath Sharma, M A.,D. itt Professor and Head of Deptt of History, Jodhpur Uniersity, who had kindly forwarded this work I must thank my olleagues especially Shri Niaz Ahmad and Dr K C Shotriya of Jdaipur, Shri Amir Singh Dr. D R. Jatava, Shri S P Jain and hri I D Mittal of Ganganagar in helping me in preparing it for ublication I am grateful to Messers H R Parihar, my lder brother, Paras Ram Solanki and R K Duggar of Jodhpur in helping me in correcting the proofs I shall be failing in my duty if I do not mention my gratitude o Shri Sukhvir Singhji Gahlot M A without whose help nd suggestions this publication would not have been out, o soon in its present form. Lastly, I thank Miss Pramjit Kaur, M A ,B Ed , in helping me in preparing the Index

Ganganagar
buary, 4, 1968

G R Parihar

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Dr Dasharatha Sharma
M A, D Litt
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FORWARD

The history of Marwar goes back almost to the earliest period of Man's life of India when he moved along the bank of the river Luni as a food-hunter Centuries later we find trade carvans passing through its sandy tracts to the rich sea-ports of the western coasts Perhaps some of our earliest towns might have grown along this route specially at sites where water, food and fodder were easily available Thus perhaps originated the towns of Mandor, Nagaur, Jalore, Kiratakupa and Bhinmal.

In the eighth century, Marwar, then known as Gurjara, was a flourishing region, the home of wealthy traders as well as of the mighty Pratiharas who once ruled over territories from the western most tip of Saurashtra to the eastern most fringe of Bengal Dr G R. Parihar has by giving this history in brief provided the necessary background for his account of the Relations of Marwar with Marathas

He rightly begins his account of these relations with Jaswant Singh's operations against Shivaji during the years 1667-1699 A D This early contact between the Marathas and Rathors might have proved of some use when, after the death

The events of the next twenty-seven years–perhaps the worst in the history of Maratha-Rathore relations are dealt with by Dr Parihar under the heads, (a) Bhim Singh-Man-Singh struggle and Maratha interference, A. D. 1,93-1803, (b) Anglo-Maratha war and Man Singh's role, A. D. 1802-1805, (c) Krishna Kumari episode and Maratha intervention and Marwar *In the last stage of these relations both Amir* Khan and Bapaji Sindhia ravaged the land of Marwar brutally. Under the circumstances, Man Singh thought it best to conclude a treaty with the British in January, 1818, even though he was at heart unfriendly to them With this ended the independence of Marwar and also its domination by the Marathas There should have been perhaps nothing but bitter hatred for the Marathas in his heart But he was chivalrous enough to help Appaji Bhonsle against the British. It was at Jodhpur that Appaji expired in July, 1840

Dr. Parihar's book concludes with a general review of the period. He is to be congratulated on producing this well documented and eminently readable account, the utility of which is increased still further by eight maps and sketches, ten plates, a select bibliography and a good index. It will, I am sure, be welcomed everywhere as a good contribution to the History of Rajasthan.

26-1-68, *[Dasharatha Sharma*
Jodhpur.

OPINION

Jodhpur was by far the most important state in medieval Rajasthan Its rulers sought in the scrub and desert of *Maru* a formidable line of defence against the advancing wave of Turkish conquest. Twice the Rathors were called on to unite their forces with those of Mewar to oppose the invasions of the Mughals. This period also forms an important epoch in the annals of Marwar inasmuch as its rulers performed many signal services for the emperor in Kabul, Bengal, Malwa, Gujarat and the Deccan. When the Marathas continued to foster disputes in search of pay or plunder, Rathors planned several grand campaigns to expel them from Rajasthan, Gujarat and Malwa However, these ruinous wars and still more ruinous negotiation exhausted the resources of the state and led it towards universal rapine.

Dr Parihar's scholarly contribution, planned and prepared under my supervision concerns itself with those events, movements, men and institutions which have importance for the course of Marwar History from 1724-1843. After describing the Maratha penetration in Marwar the writer has ably traced the successive stages of the Rathor-Maratha relations. He has also dealt with the relationship of the rulers of Marwar with the British Government. The author has skilfully narrated the entire account on the basis of all available contemporary evidences in Marathi, Persian, Rajasthani and English The book contains interesting illustrations, some appendices and a critical bibliography. I hope it will be studied with profit by all students of Rajasthan History.

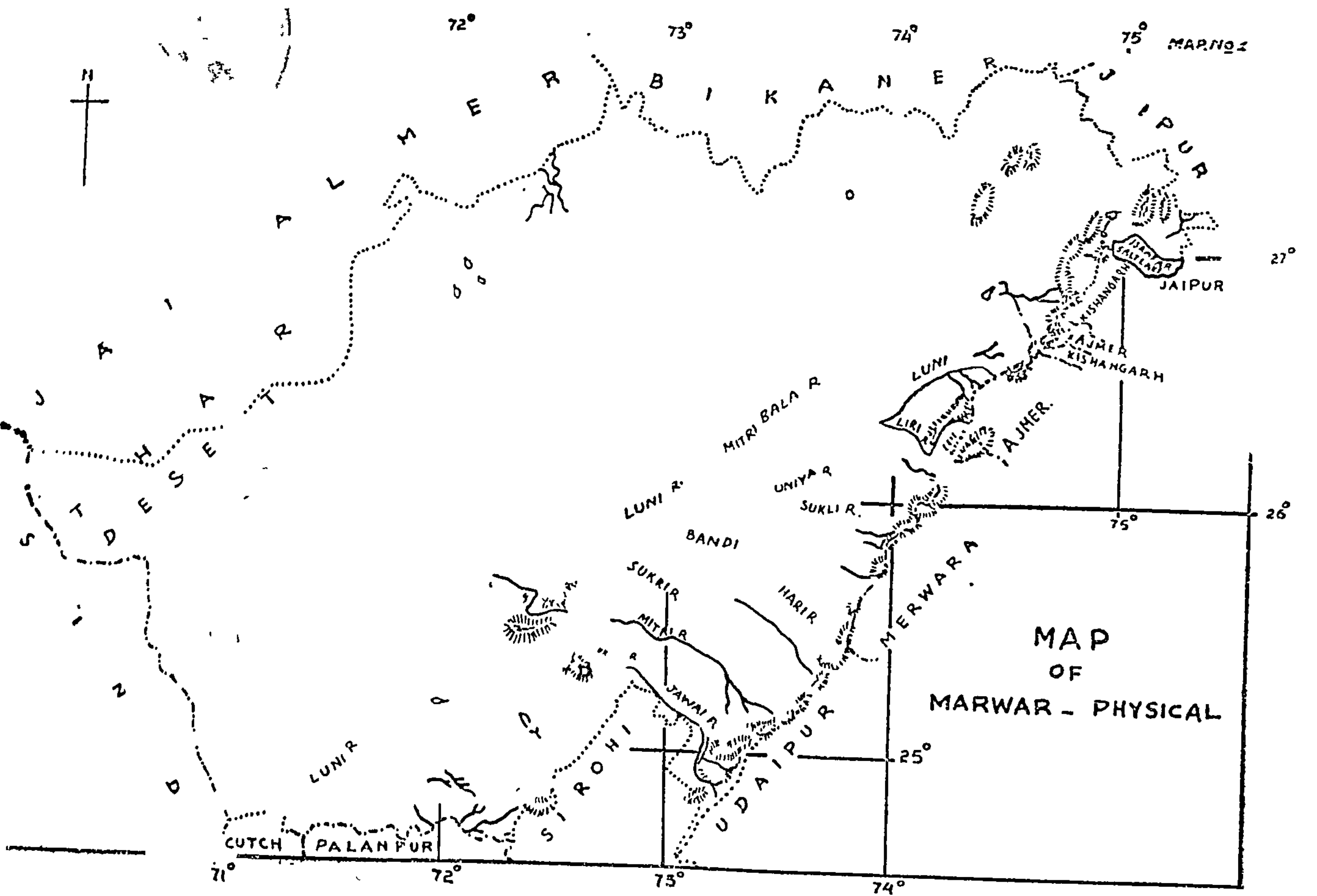
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ABBERVIATIONS

AB.	: Arzee Bahi.
AITI PATREN.	: Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagaire Lekh.
A. R. M.	: Administrative Report of Marwar.
AKHBARAT	: Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla.
BERNIER	: Travels in Mogul India.
BIB. IND.	: Bibliotheca Indica.
C. P. C.	: Calender of Persian Correspondence.
DILKUSHA	: Nuskhah-i-Dilkusha.
DK.	: Dholian-Ka-Kothar Records.
DY	: Dilli Yethil Maratha- Yanchi Raj. Karne.
ELLIOT & DOWSON	: History of India as told by its own Historians.
F. P.	: Foreign Political Consultations.
F. R.	: Foreign Record.
F. S.	: Foreign Secret Consultations.
G. G.	: Governor General.
G.M.G.R.	: Glories of Marwar and Glorious Rathors.
HP.	: History papers regarding Mahadaji Sindia
H.S.I.S.	: Holkarshahicha Itihanchi Sadhane.
JD.	: Jodhpur Record.
JP.	: Jaipur Record.

JY.	: Jodhpur Yethil Raj Karne.
KH	: Kharita.
K K DATTA	: Survey of social life and Economic Conditions of India, in 18th Century
KS	: Kapaddwara Section
MD	: Maheshwar Darbarachin Badami Patren
MANUCCI	· Storia-do-Mogor
M M	: Martin Montegomery, Wellesley's Despatches.
N H M.	· New History of Marathas.
OOT	· Ootacmand
ORMF	: Historical fragments, of the Mughal Empire.
PF.	: Portfolio.
P.R C	: Poona Residency Correspondence
PRDG	: Proceedings.
R. A	: Rajasthan Archives.
R A. O	: Rajputana Agency Office
RAJWADE	· Marathanchya Itihasachin Sadhane
RY.	: Regnal Year
SABHASAD	: Shiva-Chhatrapati Charitren Bhakhar
S.B L.	· Sarswati Bhandar Library.
S C C R	: Selection from Chandrachud Record.
SE	· Saka Era
SEIR	: Seir-Mutaqherin
S P D.	: Selection from Peshwa Daftar.
S P.D. (New-Series)	: Extension of Maratha Power.
S S I.S	: Shindheshahi Itihasanchi Sadhane.
T.E.S.	: Treaties, Engagements and Sanads

TOD.	: Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.
UD.	: Udaipur Record.
VS.	: Vikram Samvat.
WHEELER J. Talboys	: Summary of the affairs of the Maratha state.
WILSON.	: Mill's history of British India.
I.H.C.	: Indian History Congress Proceedings.
I.H.R.C.	: Indian Historical Record Commission Proceedings.
J.B.R.S.	: Journal of Bihar Research Society.
J.I.H.	: Journal of Indian History.
BOMBAY GAZETTER	: Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency.
RAJ. GAZ.	: Rajputana Gazetteer.


MAP No 1
MAP
OF
MARWAR - PHYSICAL
N
BIKANER
JAIPUR
JAISALMER
DESERT
SIND
CUTCH
PALANPUR
SIROHI
UDAIPUR
MERWARA
AJMER
KISHANGARH
SAMBHAR SALT LAKE
LUNI R.
LUNI
LIRI
MITRI BALA R
UNIYA R
SUKLI R.
BANDI
SUKRI R
MITRI R
HARI R
JAWAI R
71°
72°
73°
74°
75°
25°
26°
27°

Introduction

On the eve of the Rathor penetration into Marwar in the first-half of the thirteenth century, Marwar, (as the territory was then understood) over which the last ruler Maharaja Hanut Singh ruled upto March 30 1949, was largely dominated by the Chauhans of Jalor. The ancient city of Mandvyapur (now known as Mandor) which had been the centre of political activity in Marwar, under the pratiharas,[1] since Naga Bhatta I (c. 730 A.D) was then Chauhan territory Its occupation had always brought political prestige[2] and Military strength. It took more than a century for the Rathors to gain for themselves this capital city of the Pratiharas and ensure their future hold in Marwar.

With the decline of the Pratihara Empire at Kanauj (c. 942 A. D), its territory of Central India and Southern part of Marwar passed into the hands of the Parmars in the eleventh Century. With the rise of the Chalukya power in Gujrat under Mool Raj I and Kumar Pala and its expansion in Southern Marvar, the Parmars survived only as dependents of the Chalukyas at Jalor upto 1181 A. D. and at Bhinmal upto 1216 A. D. The Chalukya possessions at Kiradu (in Barmer district) and in Godwad (South-East Marwar) continued upto 1239 A D[4]

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1 Dr. Dasrath Sharma : Early Chauhan Dynasties p 148

2 The Rathors gained Mandor in 1324 A. D

3. The struggle for Empire (History and Culture of Indian People Vol. V) pp. 66-77

4 Ibid pp 73-74. 79-87.

The Chauhans were the feudatories of the Imperial Pratiharas. By 973 A.D. they had become practically independent at Sakambhari (Sambhar). The growing power of the Chauhans under Vigrahraja IV (1151-1163 A. D) came in conflict with the Chalukyas under Kumar Pal for the possession of Nadol, Pali and Jalor. Under Prithvi Raj III (1180-1192) Mandor-Nagor territory was a Chauhan province. Another Chauhan dynasty at Nadol extended its supremacy over Mandor which, later on, changed hands and passed on to Udai Singh of Jalor.

The Kingdom of Jalor under Chohan Kirtipal was established in 1181 A. D. Under his grandson Udai Singh (1205-1257), the Kingdom of Jalor included Nadol, Jalor, Mandor, Badmer, Surchanda. Ratahrada, Kheda, Ramasairya, Srimala, Ratnapura, Satyapura etc. He was said to have curbed the pride of Turks. He was contemporary of Kutubuddin Aibk and Aram Shah, and came in conflict with Iltutmish. The latter was entagled in Solving the problems in the North-Wast and in the Eastern part of his empire upto 1225. In the meantime Udai Singh had extended his sway over a large part of Rajputana and was pushing towards the Muslim seat of Ajmer. That brought Iltutmish on Jalor. Udai Singh surrendered and paid the token tribute worth 100 camels and 200 horses and the territory of Mandor. In 1221 Iltutmish once again took the offensive in Rajasthan and advanced towards Gujrat. Udai Singh and Baghelas of Gujrat forced him to withdraw without fighting. Udai Singh recaptured Mandor only to lose to Iltutmish once more in 1226.

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1. Early Chauhan Dynasties pp. 58, 77, 148.
2. Ibid. pp. 144, 148, 151, 152.

In 1244 A. D Sultan Masud made Kashli Khan Governor of Mandor, Nagor and Ajmer.[1] However we find Mandor listed in V. 1319 (1262 A D) as one of the possessions of Udai Singh 'The Chauhans of Jalor were the unrivalled masters of Southern Marwar, including Mandor, upto 1291, when the first Khilji[2] Sultan, Jalaluddin occupied Mandor and marched upto Sanchor.[3] This muslim invasion awakened the Jalor ruler Sawant Singh to the need of reorganising the defence of his territory. In 1296 he associated his son Kanhad Deo in the task of looking after the administration of his empire.[4] Frontier forts were regarrisoned, repaired and put under able generals. Mandor, which remained under the Khiljis upto 1301 A. D.[5] was reoccupied and Inda-Parihars were made guardians of the fort.[6] The Jalor Empire under Kanhad Deo and the Khilji Empire under Allauddin Khilji were bound to come in conflict. In 1308 the Khiljis occupied Mandor, Sanchor and Sivana. The next invasion was on Kanhad Deo in 1311 A. D. with the defeat of the latter the Chauhan Empire disintigrated.[7]

The Rathor penetration in Marwar began with the overthrow of the Rajput rule over the Gangetic-Jamuna Doab, surrounding Kanauj, by Iltutmish. Siha, the ancestor of the Rathors of Marwar was said to have moved west from his

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1. Habibulah : Foundations of Muslim Rule in *India* pp 124
2. Early Chauhan Dynasties p 152 Dr. Dasrath Sharma is of the *opinion* that Udai Singh must have recaptured it *during the period* V. 1283-1314 (1226-57 A.D)
3. Ibid. 159.
4. Ibid.
5. K. S Lall : History of the Khiljis p. 116
6. Asopa : Marwar Ka Mool Itihas p. 22.
7. Early Chauhan Dynasties pp 167-169; according to Dr Sharma Jalor fell in vs. 1371 (1314 A D) some time after the 12th of the dark-half of Jyestha (Ibid p. 170 ff 60)

original home in the vicinity of Badayun in between 1226-1234 A. D.[1] He and his son Asthan employed themselves in the pay of the cmmercial community of Bhinmal and Pali, the then business and trading centres under the Chauhans of Jalor.[2] The historians viz. Nensi, Tod, Ozha, Reu, Asopa, Gahlot, agree that Ashthan occupied Khed, an important town in the Chauhan Empire. However, no contemporary or semi-contemporary sources have thrown any light on it. It appears that the Rathors were not a political force, when Allauddin attacked Siwana and Jalor. Had it been so, the Khilji Sultan would not have left the Rathors of Khed (which was so near Siwana) an independent power and the fact would not have escaped notice by contemporary chroniclers. The Rajput historians also refer that Ashthan was at Pali and died fighting against Jalaluddin in 1291.[3]

The Rathors gained a favourable opportunity of political rise only after 1314, when Kanhad Deo died and his empire disintigrated. The new map of Marwar was something like this. Jalor became a seat of the Khilijis.[4] Nagor, too, went under the muslim rule. Mandor was lost to the Khiljis[5] and

1. According to G. H. Ozha, he moved from Badayun in 1196 A. D. (Jodhpur Itihas Vol. I p. 146)
R. K. Asopa refers his departure from Mahvi in 1234 A. D. (p.49) Cunningham (Archaeological Survey report Vol. III p. 123) dates it in 1226 A.D.

2. Nensi mentions that Siha tried his luck in Gujrat by joining the Chaudas against Lakha Phulani but returned to Kanauj (Khyat Vol. ii pp. 267-274)

3. Jodhpur-Khyat Vol. I p. 19;
Banki Das: Aitihasik Varta No. 1615.
Early Chauhan Dynasties p. 159. Khed was under Kanhad Deo.

4. Ozha. Jodhpur Itihas Vol. I p. 173.

5. K. S. Lal. History of Khiljis p. 116.

6. Ibid,

then to the Chohan governor Therpal, the Inda-Parihar.[1] After the death of Allauddin and during the anarchy under Khusran Shah, the provincial governor of Jalor failed to keep his strong hold in the vicinity of the capital (Jalor) By the time the Tughluq revolution stabalised its hold at Delhi, Khed was regarded the seat[2] of the Rathors under Raipal and his son Kanhpal (d. 1328).[2] For a time the exiled Chauhans of Jalor, the Sumers of Sind, the Sodas of Omarkot the Solankis, the Rathor, the Bhattis of Jaisalmer and the muslims of Multan entered into a struggle for[3] domination in the western part of one time Chauhan Empire[3] (modern Badmer district) During this period of struggle, the Rathors stablised their hold at Khed success fully however, their leaders like[4] Tida fell fighting against the Muslims (c 1357 A D) [4]

A definite change took place in the rise of the Rathor power hereafter The death of Kanhad sowed the seed of struggle for power and leadership between his brother Tribhuvansi and his nephew Mallinath son of Salkha in about 1374 [5] Mallinath set himself at the head of the Rathors at Meheve and occupied Kher He was a close ally of the Muslim ruler of Jalor, who recognised him as the 'Rawal' of the Rathors He also extended his sway over the territory around the river Luni, later on known as Malani [6] Under Mallinath, the Rathors

4 *Tod refers that Dushand* son of Asthan attacked Therpal and occupied Mandor for a short time (Vol ii p 943)

1 Ozha Vol I p 170 ff 1
The Delhi Sultanate (Peoples' History and culture of India)Vol. vi p 349

2 B N Reu, Marwar Ka Ituhas Vol I pp 50-53,
Ozha Vol I pp 173-183,
Delhi Sultanate p 350

4 Ozha Vol I p 192

1 Reu Glories of Marwar and Glorious Rathor p xiii

2 Ozha vol I pp 190-192

were the only powerful political force in the western desert of Marwar. His death brought about the second civil war for the capture of the seat of power at Meheve. His son Jagmal was no match to Chunda, son of his younger brother Biram.

Chunda was a minor, when his father Biram died fighting against the Johiyas in 1383.[1] He was brought up by Rawal Mallinath. His early contacts with the Inda-Parihas, the Sankhlas of Janglu and the Johiyas made him ambitious and it was no surprise that his success at Meheve in 1393 A. D. was on account of the moral and material support given by some of them.[2] Chunda had his designs over Mandor. Its muslim governors had over thrown the yoke of allegiance to the Tughluqs after the death of Sultan Firoz in 1388 A. D. and were seeking help against the powerful neighbours, from the Sultans of Gujrat.[3] Chunda acted swiftly and before the Sultan of Gujrat could materalise the alliance, he entered into a marriage alliance with Inda-Parihars. Both of them, then, attacked Mandor and occupied it in about 1394 A. D. In the beginning a dual control at Mandor was exercised but the set up did not last long. A struggle for power began between Inda-Parihars, supported by the Sindhals, the Balechas, the Manglias and the Asayackas on one side and Chunda on the other. The Rathors came out successful. He, then, called himself 'Rao Chunda'.[4]

From an obscure position of security officers at Pali, the Rathors by the end of 14th century had moved to Mandor via Khed and Meheve. The occupation of Mandor had brought

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1. Veer Vinod p. 802.
2. Nensi Vol. ii p. 304, p. 307.
3. Mirat-I-Ahmadi (Quoted by Ozha. Vol. I p. 212 ff) P. 13 (Gujrat Tv.)
4. Nensi Khyat Vol. ii pp. 308-309.

political prestige as well as enhanced their military might It was further strengthened when Muzzaffar Khan of Gujrat beseized Mandor in 1390 to regain it for the Tughluqs The seize continued for a year and a half In the beginning of 1398 the news of Temur's proposed move towards India, and his grand son Pir Muhmad's occupation of Multan necessiated the besiegers to conclude peace with the Rathors who, too, were keen for peace as they had exhausted all they had stored in the fort According to the treaty, concluded sometime in March, 1398, the Rathors kept Mandor, but agreed to pay tribute, as was given by the Muslim governors of Mandor to the Tughluqs [1] The payment of this nominal tribute, too, was stopped after Temur's invasion Taking advantage of the situation he occupied Nagor from Jalal Khan Khokar.[2] However he lost it by 1408 when Mujjaffar Shah I of Gujrat conquered it and appointed his brother Samskhan as its governor [3] Hence forth Nagor became a bone of contention between the Rathors and the Muslim rulers of Gujrat for a century and a half, changing hands for brief periods [4]

The growing power of the Rathors moved eastword when Chunda occupied Nadol [5] The only other power in Rajasthan which counted for its political significance at that time was that of Mewar Chunda allied himself with the Sisodias by offering his daughter Hansa to the old Mewari ruler Lakha with the promise that their issue only would succeed to the throne of

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1 Mirat i Ahmedi (Quoted by Ozha Vol I P 212); p 13
The Delhi Sultanate pp 116 117
'Mandu' in Mirat refers to Mandor not to Mandu of Malwa
2 Nensi Khyat Vol II p 310
3 Mirat-i-Ahmadi (Guj-Tr p 18), Ozha Vol I 202; Reu. Vol I P. 64
4 The Delhi Sultanate p 127 It refers Khijra Khan's campaign against Nagor in 1416
5. Jodhpur histories also refer his hold on Sambhar and Didwana

the Rana at Chitor. It was a master diplomatic move which earned him not only leadership in the body politic of Rajasthan but also got him an opportunity of influencing Mewar politics to suit his interests at home and abroad. He deputed his son Ranmal at Chittor to safeguard the Rathor interests.[1] Thus under Chunda, the power of Rathors reached a height, unattained for at least a quarter of a century He died in 1422-1423 while fighting against the Sankhlas of Janglu and the Bhattis of Pungal and Jaisalmer for the domination of Phalodi territory. Ranmal, at that time, was at Chittor. The Rathors placed his younger brother Kanha at the helm and continued the struggle. However the Chief died after a short reign of eleven months. Satta became the next ruler.

Having consolidated his hold at Chittor, Ranmal with the help of the Sisodias, occupied Mandor in 1427 and declared himself as its ruler. For next ten years he was the most powerful person in Rajasthan. He played a significant role in the accession of Rana Kumbha at Chittor in 1433 and as a Regent to Kumbha successfully defended Mewar against the muslim onslaughts (1433-1438) and established his strong hold over the Rathors in Marwar.[2] He introduced a number of salutary reforms in the system of weights and measures in Marwar similar to those, which had already been effected under his influence in Mewar.[3] However, the dictatorial power intoxicated him. He tried to Rathodise the Mewar administration, pushing aside violently all opposition. The murder of his ally Raghav Deo, a popular hero in Marwar, reacted in his own in turn in

1. Nensi refers that Ranmal was forced to quit Mandor over a small affair (Khyat Vol. ii pp. 313-314).
2. Author's article "Kumbha and his relations with other states of Rajasthan 1433-1419, A.D." in Rajasthan Bharti Vol. viii No. 1-2
3. Delhi Sultanate p. 353.

1439 and it caused the decline of the Rathor influence at Chittor. His son, Jodha fled to safety. Kumbha (now a major) supported by all Political forces in Mewar, attacked Mandor and flew Mewari colours

For twenty years (1439-1458) Jodha remained a fugitive but not inactive On account of the terror created by Mewari rule in Marwar and by marriage alliances he mustered around him, the Deora Chohans the Inda-Parihar, the Gogades of Sekhala, the Sankhlas of Roon, the Rathors of Malani, the Sankhlas and the Bhattis of neighbouring territory of Pungal, Janglu and Jaisalmer [1] At a time, when Kumbha threatened by Mahmud Khilji and Kutubbuddin Sultans of Malwa and Gujrat respectively in 1457 1458 externally and by the revolt of his brother Kshema, internally, recalled his generals and forces stationed at Mandor, Merta and Sojat to meet the situation, Jodha took the offensive and in a short time he was master of Kosana, Chokdi and Mandor [2] Nensi[3] refers to his carrying arms into Mewar and plundering its territory upto Picholi It was too risky for Kumbha to fight on all fronts. Under political expediency he negotiated, through the embassies of Napa Sankhla, peace terms with the Rathors.[4] According to the treaty, Rana Kumbha recognised Jodha as the ruler of Mandor Kingdom which included the territories, as far as Godwad, Sojat and Merta In return the Rathor Chief assured the Rana of his help against the Muslims The relationship was further cemented by a marriage of the daughter of Jodha with the son

1 Reu Vol I p 80 ff 2

2 Delhi Sultanate pp 335 336, Reu I pp 89-90

3 Khyat Vol iii pp 9 12

4 Ibid, Veer Vinod refers that the efforts of Hansa Bai brought about the peace between the Rathors and the Sisodias (I pp 323-324) Pandit Ram Karan Asopa refers the embassy of Rama's son (Marwar-Ka-Mool Itihas p 108)

and successor of Kumbha.[1] Jodha stood by Kumbha agains the foreign invasions during 1458-1468 [2]

Jodha was then forced by twofold task of consolidating his power at home and extending his territory abroad. To achieve the first, he transferred the seat of his government from Mandor to the newly constructed fort, known as Jodhpur. The central authority was reorganised by evolving the theory that the state belonged to the Rathor clan as a whole and its ruler was first among equals. The army too was reorganised. Jodha had capable sons. He allotted outlying parts of his Kingdom to his sons, who were asked to extend the territory beyond the existing frontiers. A unique type of federal authority was set up with a strong centre. Lest his ambitious sons should become independent he some times deputed two of the members of his family for such an assignment. Thus Kandhal, his younger brother and Bika, his son, were able to occupy Janglu, Chandesor, Desnok, Kodamdesar, Pugal and the Jats (Godaras, Sarans, Beniwals) territory between Janglu and Hissar upto c. 1485.[3] Other sons Varsi and Duda ware given Merta in 1416 so as to extend the sway of the Rathors towards Sambhar and Ajmer.[4] Helped by Bika, Uda, Bida, Jaga etc. Jodha occupied Chhapar-Dronpur in 1474. At first Jaga, later on, Bida was appointed its governor.[5] His other sons did not remain inactive. Satal occupied part of the territory of Bhattis of Jaisaimer and named it Satalmer; Suja secured Sojat; Karamsi and Banbir occupied Khinvsar and Raipal Asop after a successful struggle with Faten Khan of Nagor.[6] Finding Duda and Versi, quarrell-

1. O ha: Vol. I p. 241.
2. Delhi Sultanate p. 336
3. Nensi Khyat iii pp. 13-15;
   Powlett Gazetteer P. 1.
4. Banki Das Aitihasik Varta Nos. 620-622
5. Nensi Khyat Vol. iii P. 166.
6. Reu. Vol. 1 pp. 99.

ing he transferred Duda to Bika's territory. Later on, Duda led an expedition against Megha of Sindhals and occupied Jaitaran in 1487.[1]

Jodha had cordial relations with the Lodi rulers of Delhi. His visit to Kashi, Gaya and other holy places in 1461-2 as referred in Gosundi Inscription of 1504 and fighting against the Sharqi ruler Hussain Shah of Jaunpur could only be understood in the light that either he accompanied Bahlol Lodi against the Sharqi or his visit was personal and had no political significance. It is intersting that none of the contemporary and semi-contemporary muslim chroniclers viz Ahmad Yadgar, Firishta, Mustaqi, Yahya etc noticed the rising Rathor power during Bahlol t mes By the time Jodha expired (1488) the Rathor State had extended upto Hissar in the north except Nagor, Godwad in the South-East and Sindh-Jaisalmer in the West.

Such a system and such a vast territory required a strong personality to dominate and direct the Rathor clan. None could fill the vaccum created by the death of Jodha. The war of succession that followed *disintegrated* the whole territory. Jodha during his life time had already recognised Bika as the head of his territory (known as Bikaner) independent in his internel affiars[2] He now claimed the Jodhpur Gaddi Bida became independent at Chhapar-Dronpur Satal succeeded at Jodhpur. Then followed a long struggle between the Rathors on one hand and *Mallu Khan*, Governor of Ajmer (under the Malwa Kingdom) for Merta on *the other* Though successful, the Rathor chief could not retain Merta for *himself* Duda soon after, declared his independence[3] Though muslim

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1 Ibid p 101

2 Ozha Vol I p 250

3 Reu, Glories of Marwar and Glorious Rathors, pp xviii xix

governor at Nagor (under Lodis since 1509) had kept quiet during the period 1488-1517 yet it remained a probable danger to the Rathors.

Nearly the first half of the Sixteenth century witnessed the struggle between the Afgans (the Lodis at first, the Surs later on) and the Mughals for domination over Northern India, During this period the Rathors under Rao Ganga (1515-1531) and Rao Maldeo slowly but steadily became a dominating political force in west India. The Rathors fought the Mughals, as Rana Sanga's ally at the battle of Khanwa in 1527.[4] With the accession of Maldeo in 1531,[1] the Rathor power eclipsed the Sisodias as the chief power in Rajasthan. At one time, when SherShah, the then Emperor of Delhi had gone to Bengal to set the house in order, Maldeo offered his arms to the fugitive Mughal Emperor Humayun against Shershah. However, the opportunity was lost and with the return of Shershah in July 1542, the polical expediency required not to come in conflict with him at that time. Maldeo's agressive designs over Bikaner, Ajmer, Merta and even over Nagor brought a headlong clash with the Afgan Emperor. The Samel battle (5th Jan, 1544), won by Shershah by a combination of diplomacy and military might brougnt about the crumbling of the Rathor empire. Merta, Ajmer, Nagor, Bikaner and Jodhpur were brougnt under the Afgan domination. 'Though he established his suzerainty there, he (Shershah) did not aim at the complete subversion of their (Rathors) independance.'[2] The Afgan domination over Marwar was short lived. Soon after the death of Shershah in 1545, Maldeo regained the lost capital. By 1560, he was the master of his old territories except Ajmer, Jaitaran, Bikaner and Nagor.[3]

1. Marwar and the Mughal Emperors, p. 17.
2. Quango: Shershah and his times p. 331
3. Marwar and the Mughal Emperors p. 35.

In the meantime Delhi had changed its masters Humayun regained it in 1555 Akbar, who succeeded Humayun in 1556, extended the Mughal sway by successfully waging wars in Malwa and Gondwana. By 1562, he had formulated an imperial policy. He had also mustered around him many Rajput chiefs Jaimal Rathor, who had lost Merta to Maldeo approached Akbar seeking his support for regaining his territory Bikaner ruler, too, had his grievances against the Rathor Chief of Jodhpur He, too, attended the Imperial court. Raja of Amber accepted the overlordship of Akbar after entering into marriage alliance in February, 1562. Akbar on his holy visit to Ajmer in 1562 asked Mirza Saifuddin Hussain to lay Marwar waste The Mirza laid a siege of Merta Maldeo could not stand long and Merta was lost to him. His death in November, 1562, removed the last independent and a powerful Rathor ruler.[1]

The Rathors and the Mughals[2] came in direct contact from 1562 The succession struggle that followed Maldeo's death, amongst Chandra Sen (who succeeded), Ram and Udai Singh brought the Mughal interference. Hussain Quli Beg, the Mughal Hakim of Nagor occupied Jodhpur in 1564 Chandra Sen fled to Bhadrajun, Udai Singh to Phalodi but Ram accepted the Nagor patronage Jodhpur was annexed into the Mughal empire A *Sarkar* was created there. Chandra Sen continued his struggle to regain the territories

In 1570, Akbar called a conference of Western-Rajputana States at Nagor. It was attended by the rulers of Bikaner, Jaisalmer and the claimants of Jodhpur throne, Chandra Sen and

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1 Ibid pp 38-40

2 For details of this section See Dr. V. S Bhargava's Book 'Marwar and the Mughal Emperors'

Udai Singh. The imperial policy was announced. According to it the Rajput teritories belonged to the Mughal empire, the old Rajput houses were allowed to keep rule over their parental territory as representatives of the Empire and their accession to the *Gaddi* depended on the Mughal favour; the rulers were to deposit their tribute into the nearest Mughal treasury, located in the *uba* head-quarters; assist the Mughals with their armies and give their daughters in marriage to the Mughal princes. The rulers were to be given *mansabs* and other Imperial posts according to their status and their services were to bring to them extra-remuneration besides the income from their respective States.

The rulers of Bikaner and Jaisalmer immediately solomnised the marriage of their daughters with Akbar. Udai Singh accepted the Mughal Sovereignty but hesitated to give his daughter in marriage to the Mughals. He received Mughal *mansabs* but not the Jodhpur *Gaddi*. Chandra Sen withdrew from the conference and returning to the Aravallies, revivded his mili tary activities. He lost his one by one viz, Bhadrajan in 1572, and Sivana and Pokran in 1576. However he remained unsubdued and died as a rebel in January, 1581. Before leaving Nagor, Akbar asked Rai Singh of Bikaner to look after the administration of Jodhpur. In 1583, Udai Singh married his daughter Jodh Bai to Prince Salim. He, then, received the Jodhpur *Gaddi*. Udai Singh's accession marked a new phase the increasing Mughal Superemacy over Marwar. His territory was only the *Sarkar* of Jodhpur in the Mughal *Suba* of Ajmer.

Henceforth, the Rathor rulers of Marwar were the members of Mughal hierarchy who were deputed either for military conquests or suppression of rebellions, or on some administrative jobs. During the free-of-Job period they were required to attend the Imperial court. Only on rare occasions or on

urgent family affairs the rulers were allowed to stay at Jodhpur for long. In their absence, the rulers appointed the administrators with the prior permission of the Emperor, to take care of their patrimony At the Imperial court, they looke for the favours of the Emperor so as to increase their *Mansabs*, which would bring extra remuneration to them and secure territories.

Udai Singh began his rule as a *mansabdar* of 1,000 *Zat* and a title of '*Raja*' When he died (July 1595) he had increased his *mansab* to 1,500 *Zat* and his territory included Jodhpur, Satalmer, Phalodi, Sojat, Jaitaran and Siwana It was a token of his services to the Mughals in Gujrat, Rajputana Deccan and Lahor from 1588-1595 He was deputed in 1588 to crush the revolt of Muzzaffar Khan Gujrati and Daulat Khan Lody a Cambay and Sultan of Sirohi in 1593

The question of succession to the Rathor *Gaddi* had to be settled by the Mughal Emperor, who always tried to keep in view the last wishes of the '*Raja*'. Accordingly, Udai Singh's sixth son, Sur Singh was recognised the next ruler of Jodhpur by Akbar on 23rd July 1595 He wa sa *mansabdar* of 2000 *Zat* and *Sawar* and ruled over sixteen parganas (nine in Marwar, four in Gujrat, one Malwa, one in Deccan and one in Mewar) at the time of his accession His services to the Mughals were suppression of the rebellions of Bahadur Gujrati in Gujrat in 1597, of Raju and Saadat Khan at Nasik in 1600 and Khudavand Khan at Pathari and Palam in 1602 and participation in the war against Malik Amber of Ahmedabad in 1601 and again in 1608 and against Rana Amar Singh of Mewar in 1613. During the major part of Jahangir's reign he was posted in the Deccan, where he breathed his last on September 7, 1619 His loyal services brought for him a *mansab* of 5,000 *Zat* and 3,300 *Sawar* and territories of Jalor,[1] Merta,[2]

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1 His son Gaj Singh, with the help of the Mughal contingent, conquered it from the Bihari Pathans in 1619.

2. Given by Akbar for his services in the Deccan in 1602.

and Sanchor. Under Sur Singh the Rathors made a head way in Mughal politics and Jahangir recognised this fact when he wrote in his memories 'He (Sur Singh) had a Zamindari which equalled that of the Rana........ reached high rank and great dignity.'

Gaj Singh's accession was smooth He, as *Kanwar*, had already impressed the Emperor by his military and administrative abilities at the time of the expedition against the Rana of Mewar, gaining of Jalor from the Pathans. and as *thanedar* of Sadri. However he got neither the *paraganas* nor *mansabs* of his father altogather on hereditary rights. Soon after Sur Singh's death, Jahangir handed over the *parganas* of Phalodi, Jalor, Merta and Siwana to Prince Khurram. His *mansab* was 3,000 *Zat*/2000 Sawar with the title of *Raja*. However his services in between 1619 to 1638 brought Mughal favours. He successfully repulsed Malik Ambar's attacks on Mahikar in the Deccan. He took active part against Prince Khurram during his revolt in 1622. At Hazipur in 1624, he, along with Jay Singh of Amber, won a decisive battle against the revolting Prince. His *mansabs*, by then, were raised to 5 000 *Zat* and 5,000 *Swars*. Under Shan Jahan, he fought against Khan Jahan Lodi (1630), and participated in the war against the Bijapurians (1631-1636). The Emperor gave him the tile of '*Maharaja*' and the *Paragana* of Marot, for his services.

On the death of Gaj Singh in May 1638 Shan Jahan recognised two seats of Rathor rulers-one at Jodhpur under Jasvant Singh (12 years old at that time) and the other at Nagor under Amar Singh. Contemporary sources are silent about the major military campaigns in which Jasvant Singh participated during the first twenty years of his reign except his presence, with Dara Shikoh, at Qandhahar in 1649, and 1652. He was always in personal attendance of the Mughal Emperor either at Agra or in camp during the course of his movements in the Panjab and beyond. He was duly rewarded from time to time. He secured Jalor, Pokran, Phalodi and Satalmer. He acted as *Subahdar* of Agra from January 1645 to August 1645. He was one of the leading Mughal courtiers at the time of Shah Jahan's illness, which poisoned the Mughal Empire with a deedly civil war.

services. This raised Jasvant Singh in the Emperor's favour [1] In order to curb the growing power of Shivaji, the Emperor asked Jasvant Singh to march towards the Deccan. Accordingly he proceeded in July 1662.[2] On reaching Poona he encamped by the side of the road leading southward to Sinhgarh in order to guard the Mughal camp at Poona against Shivaji's attack.[3] The internal defence of the camp was entrusted to Shayista Khan's guards, who quartered around the mansion. Shivaji, in order to dislodge the Mughals in and around Poona contrived a night-attack on April 5, 1663. He was successful in entering the fort without any opposition The Khan was taken unawares and could save his life only by fleeing. The retreat was also almost unopposed and without much loss. Throughout the course of this action it seems that Shayista Khan's men were inattentive.

The Mughal prestige received its first blow as a result of this incident. It has given rise to a controversy whether Jasvant Singh was in league with Shivaji or Shivaji accomplished this act without the aid of the Mughal general, who was second in command at that time. Some of the contemporary and semi-contemporary accounts of the period lead us to believe that Jasvant Singh was an ally of Shivaji in that affair. That is why he had not raised a finger to defend his chief and

1. Maasir-i-Alamgiri p. 15b; Dilkusha vol. I p. 44; Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri 50b; Mirat-i-Ahmadi vol. I p. 253; Seir. vol. iv p. 147. Marwar Khyat vol. I p. 231.

2. Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri 50b; Dilkusha vol. I p. 44; Mirat-i-Ahmadi vol. I p. 253; Seir. vol. iv p. 14.

According to Ishwar Das, he marched with an army of 50,000 fro[m] Gujrat.

3. A letter from Gyfford at Rajapore to the President and Council, Sur[at] factory dated April 12, 1663. F. R. Surat. Vol. 103, p. 268.

checked the retreat of the Marathas. Writing to the factory at Surat from Rajapur on April 12, 1663, Gyfford makes the Rathor chief responsible for the incident. Standing still and not pursuing Shivaji, made the people of neighbouring area believe that it was done with his (Jasvant Singh's) consent.[1] Cosme de- Guarda, the Portuguese biographer of Shivaji, who wrote in 1695,[2] had the information that 'Jassomptssinga was much obliged for the presents (sent by Shivaji) and still more for the promises for which he confederared with Sevagy not to obstruct his cause and even to connive at what he might design against the Mouros,[3] Bernier mentions that 'a secret understanding, it was suspected, existed between Jessomseingue and Seva-Gi and the foin er was supposed to have been accessory to the attempt on Chah-hest.'[4] Manucci, too, corroborates this fact when he says that on the advice of Jasvant Singh, Shivaji determined to kill Shayista Khan.[5] Bhim Sen, the author of *Nuskhah-i-Dilkhusha* is another contemporary writer who supports the statements of the foreign travellers.[6] On the basis of these verdicts, several historians[7] have leaned towards the balance of suspicion against Jasvant Singh.

But if we examine the historical records, the [illegible]-effects and the attitude of both Shayista Khan and [illegible], we feel inclined to think that Jasvant Singh had no hand in

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1. Ibid
2. Cosme-de Guarda wrote in 1695 but the MS. [illegible]
3. Life of the Celebrated Sevagy pp. 64-66 (Quoted in S. N. Sen's [illegible] Biographies of Shivaji p. 64.)
4. Travels in Moghul India p. 188.
5. Storia-do-Mogor Vol. ii p. 104
6. Dilkusha Vol. I p 45
7. Grant Duff in; 'A history of the [illegible]'; [illegible] and Parasnis in 'A history of the [illegible] people Vol. I [illegible]' J N. Sarkar in 'Shivaji and his times [illegible]' and G. S. Sardesai [illegible] new history of the [illegible]

the matter. The official histories and Persian chronicles lik *Alamgirnama*, *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri*, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* an *Maasir-ul-Umra* do not accuse Jasvant Singh of connivanc or slothfulness. Khafi Khan has simply written that on th next day Jasvant Singh went to see the General (Shayista Khar and then the latter remarked, 'when the enemy fell upon me I imagined that you had already died fighting against them. There is no evidence which tends to show that Khafi Kha accused Jasvant Singh of his association with Shivaji. Had i been so, the author of *Muntkhab-ul-Lubab* would not hav spared the Raja of his act and he, in strong language, woul have recorded the reaction of the Emperor. In early May when the Emperor came to know of the incident of April 5 he reproached the General (Shayista Khan) for his neglect recalled him and transferred him to Bengal.[2] If the Empero had the slightest suspicion that Jasvant Singh was in allianc with Shivaji, he would not have allowed him to remain ir the Deccan for another year, upto March, 1665, when he was recalled in the court.[3]

The version of Shivaji bears greater weight when he ascribes his success to his *Lord* and involves no body else in it. He wrote to Raoji Pandit, telling him that 'his *Permersera* had bid him to do it and no other was responsible for it.'[4] The fact was that the sudden attack on Shayista Khan was planned and executed by Shivaji himself. Only his most trusted colleagues, Netaji Palkar, Moropant, Babji Bapuji and

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1. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol. ii pp. 75-76.
2. Alamgirnama p. 819; Maasir-i-Alamgiri pp. 17a; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol. ii pp. 177; Seir. Vol. iv p. 15.
3. Maasir-i-Alamgiri p. 18a-b; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol. ii p. 177; Seir. Vol. iv p. 15,
4. A letter from Gyfford at Rajapore to the President and Council, Surat factory dated April 12, 1665. F. R. Surat Vol. 103, p. 268.

Chimnaji Bapuji of Khed were taken into confidence to execute the plan Like the prearranged plans against Chandra Rao More and Afzal Khan, the scheme was to take Shayista Khan unawares and kill him.[1] Shivaji was not so intimate with Jasvant Singh as to trust him so early in a scheme, the failure of which would have cost him his ideals as well as his life. It appears that he took every precaution to make the plan a success The physical features of the area, the guerilla-way of fighting and retreating, the residence of Shayista Khan at Poona, the month of *Ramazan* and the dense forest all round, all these favoured his scheme Through his secret service and many friends and relatives in Shayista Khan's army, [2]he could know all the ins and outs of the enemy's position To be on guard against Jasvant Singh's move, he took precaution to post two divisions of one thousand each including cavalry and Mavlees under Netaji Palkar and Moropant on the two flanks of the vast Mughal encampment at a mile's distance from its outerside The Rathor chief was guarding the outerportion of the camp, taking a distant position towards Sinhgarh The internal security of the camp was in the hands of the Khan's own sentinels, who observed very little discipline [3] Taking advantage of it, Shivaji entered the Khan's camp and having perpetrated a terrible havoc escaped safely back to Sinhgarh The facts mentioned above and Jasvant Singh's behaviour in the Deccan after the recall of Shayista Khan make us believe that he was in no way in alliance with Shivaji.

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1 Seir Vol iv p 14

2 Ibid.

3 Abbe Carre; *History of Sevagy* p 62 (Quoted in S N Sen's Foreign Biographies of Shivaji p 194)

(B) Jasvant Singh and Shivaji

With the recall of Shayista Khan, the responsibility of maintaining Mughal authority rested on Jasvant Singh. The Maharaja immediately laid siege of the fort of Kondhana, which was regarded as the strong-hold of the Maratha power. The first attack on the fort was made by Sunder Das on March 15, 1664. The Rathors failed to dislodge the Maratha position and lost twenty of their men. A month later, on April 13, the Rathors tried to wipe out the rampart of the fort by mining the wall. It made only a hundred yards hole in the wall, causing the death of fifty to sixty Maratha soldiers. However, the invaders failed to enter the fort. On May 6, another mine exploded and it caused a great loss to the rampart. Seven hundred Rathors unscaled the wall of the fort. A fierce battle followed resulting in a heavy loss to both the parties. A week later, another skirmish took place with no gains to the either side. As the rains had set in and the fall of Kondhana was not in sight, the Maharaja raised the seige on June 1, and withdrew to Poona. During the rainy season, the Maharaja made Poona his headquarters. As such he sent Pancholi Keshri Singh to Aurangabad with an army of 2,100 to bring his family. On return journey, the party was attacked by a roaming Maratha squad with the object of taking the bullocks of the carriages. The Rathors gave a tough fight. Consequently the Marathas had to flee.[1]

As the condition of the Deccan was not being handled in the manner the Emperor liked, hence he recalled Jasvant Singh.[2] The Maharaja left the Deccan on October 16, 1664

1. Alamgirnama p. 867; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol. ii p. 177; Dilkusha Vol. I p. 47; Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali p. 166, vv: 163; Mundiyad Khyat (Jasvant Singh) p. 231, 234, 235; Jedhe Sakavali under reference of the year SE, 1585, Margasirsha and SE. 1586 Jyeshtha.
2. Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri 52a; Maasir-i-Alamgiri 18 a-b; Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali p. 167, vv. 264.

nd reached Delhi on May 14, 1665[1] Asad Khan received um at the gates of the fort The Emperor embraced him when he presented himself in the court and honoured him vith a *khillat* and a jewelled dagger.[2]

On the occasion of the Emperor's Fiftieth-birthday celebrations on May 12, 1666, Jasvant Singh was one of the recipients of the Royal favour along with the Princes and *Wazir* Zafar Khan[3] At that time Shivaji was present in the court, standing in the rank of the officers, enjoying a *mansab* of five thousand[4] At the bestowing of the Royal favour to Jasvant Singh, who had been responsible for the Maratha losses in the Deccan, Shivaji was provoked and openly protested in the court against such a policy of indiscrimination.[5] He could not be pacified to maintain the court discipline and was ultimately put under detention under the direct responsibility of Ram Singh, the son of Jay Singh of Amber[6]

Shivaji's behaviour was unprecedented *He had* challenged the Imperial authority openly in the court.[7] Jasvant Singh, supported by Zafar *Khan* and *Begum Sahiba* (The

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1 Alamgirnama p 884, Maasir-i-Alamgiri 192; Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali p 167, vv. 265-266, Mundiyad Khyat (Jasvant Singh) pp 246-247.

2 Alamgirnama p 884, Marwar Khyat Vol. I p. 235.

3 A Report from Parkal Das to Dewan Kalyan Das dated 7th day of the dark-half of Jyeshtha vs 1723 15th May, 1666. (Vakil Report) JP; Alamgirnama pp 961-963.

4 A Report from Parkal Das to Dewan Kalyan Das dated 7th day of the dark half of Jyeshtha vs, 1723 15th May, 1666 (Vakil Report) JP

5 Ibid

6 Ibid,
Alamgirnama p 969;
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol. II pp. 189-92.

7 A Report from Parkal Das to Dewan Kalyan Das dated 7th day of the dark half of Jyeshtha vs 1723 15th May, 1666 (Vakil [illegible]

Emperor's sister, Jahanara) advised the Emperor on May 16, to censure severely such an attitude of Shivaji otherwise, 'like it, every *Bhomia* shall come here and exhibit such a behaviour with impunity and the whole administration shall suffer, having its repercussions throughout the Empire.'[1] Acting upon this, the Emperor decided 'either to put Shivaji to death or to confine him in the fort.'[2] However, despite the measures against him being tightened, Shivaji secured his release with a forged *farman* in August, 1666, and hurried to the Deccan.[3] The Emperor deputed Jasvant Singh and Prince Muazzam in March, 1667, to pursue Shivaji and his son.[4]

Accordingly Jasvant Singh and Prince Muazzam reached Burhanpur on May 12, 1667, and Aurangabad on May 20, to take rigorous measures against Shivaji,[5] who, by this time, was busy in reorganising his state on a proper footing after his return from Agra[6]. The letters sent by him, in April, August and September, 1967, indicate that the Imperiel forces despatched by the Emperor against him created terror among

1. Ibid--dated 8th day of the dark-half of Jyeshtha vs: 1723/16th May, 1666:(Vakil Report) JP.

2. Ibid:

3. A Report from Baloo Kani to Dewan Kalyan Das dated 7th day of the bright-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1723/26th August. 1666. (Vakil Report) JP.

4. A Report from Baloo Shah to Dewan Kalyan Das datad 13th day of the bright-half of Chaitra vs. 1724/27th March, 1667. (Vakil Repcrt) JP.
Akhbarat dated 29th Shawwal 10 Ry./14th April, 1667 JP.
Maasir-i-Alamgiri 23b,
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol. ii p. 207.

5. Akhbarat dated 11th Zi-l-hijja 10 Ry/21 st June 1667 JP.
Akhbaret dated 9th Muharram 10 Ry/21st June 1867 JP.
Alamgirnama p. 1037;
Marwar-Khyat Vol. I pp. 240-241

6. Sabhasad. 58.

the Marathas.[1] Shivaji, being busy with his internal affairs was not in a position to defend himself. He sent overtures to Jasvant Singh for an alliance with the Mughal Emperor.[2] The proposal was acceptable to Jasvant Singh, firstly, because he had not established himself firmly in the Deccan and secondly, he was soon expecting Dilir Khan, an enemy of the Prince Muazzam and himself, as his co-worker in the South.[3] He, then, sent Govind Rai and Ranchod Das to Shivaji on September 20, 1667, to discuss and finalise the terms of peace.[4] As a result of the consultations and deliberations, certain decisions were recommended as proposals for approval to the Emperor by Jasvant Singh and Muazzam.[5] The proposals[6] were :

1. Shivaji will spare a Maratha contingent to be kept at Aurangabad for Mughal service.

2. Shivaji will receive the title of the Raja. He shall have the right to collect *desmukhi* in the Mughal territory.

3. His son, Shambhuji will receive a *mansab*.

4. *Jagirs* shall be assigned to Shivaji.

When the Emperor received these proposals he did not approve them in toto but agreed to create Shambhuji a Comm-

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1. Akhbarat dated 22nd Zi-l-kada, 11th Rabi-ul-awwal and 24th Rabi-ul-akhir of 10th Ry/6th May; 21st August and 3rd Oct. 1667. JP, Dilkusha vol I pp. 69-71
Sabhasad. 58-71
2. Akhbarat dated 24th Rabi-ul-akhir 10 Ry/3rd Oct. 1667 JP, Dilkusha Vol I pp. 69-70.
3. Dilkusha Vol I pp. 66-68
4. Marwar Khyat Vol; I p 241
5. Akhbarat dated 24th Rabi-ul-akhir 10 Ry/3rd Oct, 1667 JP,
6. Akhbarat dated 11th Rabi-ul-awwal 10 Ry/21st Aug. 1667 and dated 24th Rabi-ul akhir 10 Ry/3rd Oct.; 1667 JP, Dilkusha. Vol. I pp; 69-71

ander of five thousand assign *jagirs* to him in Berar and he further informed that the other recommendations were under consideration. Agreeing to these, Shivaji sent his son Shambhuji to Jasvant Singh, whom he met on October, 28. He next met the Prince Muazzam on November 4, 1667. He was allowed to return the next day.[2] He was created a *Panchhazari* and a *jagir* was given to Shivaji in Berar.[3] On march 9, 1668, the Prince communicated to Shivaji that the Emperor had granted him the title of the Raja.[4] However the Emperor insisted that Shivaji should send a contingent of troops to the Prince.[5] Thereupon, in August, 1668, Shivaji sent a Maratha contingent under Pratap Rao and Niraji Raoji, half of which attended the Prince at Aurangabad and half was sent to Berar.[6] Shivaji utilised the period of rull (1667–1669) in introducing many administrative changes in his domain. He also began to recruit the disbanded Mughal soldiery in his army. By the end of 1669, when he had made adequate preparations, he recalled his contingent from Aurangabad and Berar. He recommenced his aggression upon the Mughal territory in all directions. The Emperor, in order to strengthen the hands of Jasvant Singh and Mu azzam, sent Dilir Khan on January 26, 1670. to Aurangaba When the Imperial general was proceeding against the enemy instead of helping him, Jasvant Singh and Muzzam pursued him

1. Akhdarat dated 24th Rabi-ul-akhir 10 Ry./3rd Oct., 1667. Jp,
2. Jedhe Sakivali under reference of tbe year 1589, Karttika Krishna 6th to 13th.
3. Dilkusha Vol. I p 70
4. Nishan from Muazzam to Shivaji dated 5th Shawwal 11 Ry./9th March 1668.
5. Akhbarat dated 24th Rabi-ul-akhir 10 Ry./3rd Oct., 1667 JP.
6. Dilkusha. Vol. Ip. 70; Sabhasad. 61.

upto Tapti. The entire affair assumed the shape of a civil strife.[1]

The Mughal Emperor was not happy over the turn of events. He must have suspected that the friendly relations between the Mughals and the Marathas during proceeding years had led to the close contacts among Shivaji, Jasvant Singh and Prince Muazzam. Moreover, the Emperor feared that the rupture between Dillir Khan on one side and Jaswant Singh–Muazzam on the other side might also take an adverse turn to menace the Imperial power.[2] Hence he separated Jasvant Singh from Muazzam in September, 1670. For some time he was asked to stay at Burhanpur, as to check the advance of Shivaji to that side.[3] A sum of rupees two to three lacs was also allotted to him for the purpose.[4] He was instructed to act in cooperation with Mahabat Khan.[5] In the following year, he was sent to Gujrat.[6] Later on in the same year he was transferred to Jamrud,[7] where he died on December 10, 1678.[8]

1. Dilkusha. Vol I p 64-71;
   Akhbarat 12 Ry.;
   Sabhasad 27-33, 68;
   Jedhe Sakavali, under reference of the year 1591 Sravana
2. Dilkusha. Vol. I p. 101;
   Sabhasad. 62;
   Orme, pp. 195-196
3. A letter from S. Master to the President and Council, Surat Factory, dated 19th December, 1670. F.R. Surat; Vol. 105 p. 90
4. Ibid.
5. Original correspondence Vol 31. No. 3547. Surat to Bombay dated 28th January 1671. (Quoted in English Recordson Shivaji p. 189.)
6. Fatuhat-i.Alamgiri 60b,
   Dilkusha, Vol. I p. 101;
   Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol. I p. 276
7. Maasir-i-Alamgir, p. 109.
8. Maasir-i-Alamgiri p. 171;
   Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol ii p. 259.

named as Patshahpur) with 800 Rajputs.[1] Aurangzib feared of Rathor-Maratha alliance and as such his attention was then diverted immediately towards the south in order to thwart the plan of Durga Das.

Aurangzib left Ajmer in September, 1681[2] in order to concentrate the military resources of the Empire in the Deccan under his personal command. He reached Burhanpur in November, 1681.[3] The coming of the Emperor to the South served the purpose of Durga Das in a way that the Mughal pressure was lessened and the attention of the Emperor was diverted to the South, thus giving the opportunity to the Rathors to make preparations for the resistance. which they could arrange with device and understanding.[4]

Durga Das attempted to secure the Maratha help for the Rathor cause also. At first Shambhuji doubted the intentions of the parleys conveyed by him (DurgaDas).[5] But the people of Maharastra responded to the presence of Akbar and the Rathor and it was "in everybody's mouth on the main that

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Dungarpur is 23°51' N 73°48' E, about 66 miles S. E. of Udaipur.
Banswara is 23°33' N 74°27' E, about 42 miles N. W. of Ratlam.
Rajpipla track is in between 21°23'-21 59' N to 73°5-70°0' E, lying south of Songarh in the lap of the rivers Narbada and Tapti.
Akbarpur is in the south of Mandu 3 miles west of Maheshwara.
Baglana is north sub-division of Nasik district lying on N, W. of Khandesh.
Rahiri Is in Ratangarh district of Maharastra State at 15°45' N 73.44 E, about 225 miles S.E. of Bombay.

1. Akhbarat dated 11th Shaban 24 Ry 17th Aug. 1681; JP; Scir. Vol. iv p. 163, Orme. p. 104. Pali is Paligarh, 25 miles from Raigarh.
2. Maasir-i-Alamgiri p. 76b.
3. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol. ii p. 278.
4. Ajitodaya. Canto xii.
5. Ajitodaya. Canto xi vv 27

Ranah (Durga Das) and Sambagee Rajah do resolve to join all their forces and endeavour to make him (Ecber) king "[1] Within a short time Durga Das was able to collect a Maratha soldiery even without the support of Shambhuji [2] It was not liked by the Maratha king, who advised Akbar and Durga Das to abandon such activities [3] To meet their needs, a *jagir* was allotted to them [4] However, this half-hearted attitude of Shambhuji was short lived Durga Das was able to win Shambhuji's confidence by disclosing of a murder conspiracy against him, organised by Annaji Datto in September, 1681 [5] The services of Kavi Kalash, the favourite of Shambhuji were also requisitioned by Durga Das to win Shambhuji on his side [6] On Sunday, November 13, 1681, the Maratha chief met Durga Das and Akbar at Patshahpur We do not know the details of the meeting but the subsequent events suggest that the meeting concluded with a plan of the support of Shambhuji for both Akbar and the Rathors Shambhuji promised to spare 30 000 army to take Akbar towards the North [8] The Rathor and the

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1 Orme p 270

2 Ahkbarat dated 11th Shaban Ry 24/16th Aug 1681 JP, Orme p 105

3 Akhbarat dated 11th Shaban Ry 24/16th Aug 1681 JP

4 Ib di,
Seir Vol iv p 153
Orme P 270 *It states that* earl er months of their arrival Durga Das had to meet *their needs* with the jewels brought by Akbar with him

5 Orme p 105

6 Aj todaya Canto xi vv 27

7 Jedhe Sakavali under reference of the year 1603, *Karttika Shukla* 13
Aj todaya Canto xi vv 28 *it* descr bes the welcome given by Shambhuji to Rathor Durga Das and Akbar Ajit Granth vv, 1425 1427

8 Orme : pp 105-106.

Prince supported him against the Sidis of Janjira in December, 1681[1] with the hope that the success over the Sidis would free Shambhuji to divert his resources in their support against the Emperor However the arrival of the Emperor in the Deccan made Shambhuji and Akbar return immediately to Rajgarh in January, 1682, leaving the siege of Janjira unfinished.[2]

In the middle of February, hearing that Akbar had made plans to go to Jodhpur, the Emperor proceeded towards Aurangabad.[3] On March 22, 1682, he took post there "to give Akbar no opportunity of undertaking any notable enterprise"[4]

The Marathas and their northern allies began preparations for an action. In order to make his position strong, Akbar wrote to Raja Ram Singh of Amber on May 22, 1682, to join him.[5] Shambhuji also requested him for military and financial aid for the Rathor and Akbar.[6] The Kachhwaha chief, thinking it unwise on his part to oppose the Emperor at that time, sent a refusal.[7] However, Shambhuji suggested to the Raja of Jaipur for help to Durga Das and Akbar proceeding towards the North.[8] As soon as the rains were over, according to the plan Durga Das and Akbar marched towards Gujrat taking

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1. Ibid, pp. 109-110.
2 Ibid p. 110.
3 A Report (Persian) from Kanwal Sain to Maharaja Jaipur dated 15th Safar 25 Ry/13th Feb. 1682 (Vakil Report) JP.
4 Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol. ii p. 279; Ajit Granth vv. 1417-1418.
5 A letter from Akbar to Ram Singh dated 24th Jammd'al-Awwal 1093 H/22nd May 1682. JP.
6 Sanskrit letters from Shambhuji to Ram Singh of Jaipur. (undated) letter No. (S.) 123 and 125. JP.
bid.
8. Ibid.

with them a Maratha contingent under Ganpati, son of Kavi Kalash and Dhanaji Jadav.[1] In October, the Rathors captured Ahmadabad.[2] It alarmed Aurangzib, who decided to proceed towards Ahmadabad in person and stay there at least for ten days.[3] But leaving Shah Alam in charge of the affairs, he returned immediately to his head-quarters.[4] He deputed another force under Prince Muizz-ud-Din to march from Ahmadnagar to Nander and Bidar to pursue the Marathas coming to Akbar's help.[5] Fearing little chances of success, the Rathors submitted a proposal for peace in May, 1683, that they were prepared to help the Mughals, if the governorship of Ahmadabad was granted to Akbar but it was rejected by the Emperor.[6] Nawab Mukarrab Khan defeated the combined Rathor-Maratha forces at Ahmadabad,[7] forcing Durga Das and the Prince to flee back to Shambhuji.[8]

The defeat was a great set-back to Akbar. He made up his mind to leave India for he was now convinced of the weak-

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1. The Report (Persian) from Kanwal Sain to Maharaja Jaipur dated 29th Shawwal 25 Ry. [illegible] Oct. 682 (Vakil Report) Jp; Ajitodaya. Canto [illegible] vv. [illegible] Marwar-Khyat Vol. [illegible] p 52.
2. A Report (Persian) from Kanwal Sain to Maharaja Jaipur dated [illegible] Zilkada 25 Ry. [illegible] Nov. 682 (Vakil Report) JP.
3. Ibid dated [illegible] Zilkada 25 Ry [illegible] Nov. 1682.
4. Ibid dated [illegible] Zilkada 25 Ry. [illegible] Nov. 1682.
5. Maasir-i-Alamgiri p. [illegible]
6. A Report (Persian) from Kanwal Sain to Maharaja Jaipur dated [illegible] Jumada-ul-akhir 26 Ry. [illegible] May 683. (Vakil Report) JP.
7. Ajitodaya. Canto [illegible] vv. [illegible]
8. Ibid. vv. 62

ness of Shambhuji's alliance.[1] However, in November, 1683, Durga Das and Kavi Kalash prevailed upon him to stay.[2] In the meantime, attempts were also made by some Mughal courtiers to bring Akbar back to the Mughal camp with offers of pardon and restoration to favour.[3] But nothing came of these negotiations.[4] All their (Durga Das and Akbar) efforts to reach the North and establish their hold there with the support of the Marathas in the years 1684 to 1686 failed. By this time the Emperor had completed the Bijapur compaign with success. Akbar, fearing a rigorous measure against him, left for Persia in February, 1687,[5] probably either to gain the support of the Shah or to seek safe asylum there. Durga Das also left for Marwar after it.[6]

The Deccan mission of Durga Das to gain support for the Rathors did not result in success. He stayed for six years in Maharastra and gave active support to the Marhathas in their struggle against the Sidis, the Portuguese and the Mughals, yet he could not get any positive support from their chief. He was convinced that Shambhuji lacked both the personality and character to take up the Rathor cause. Shambhuji on his part did not fully recognise the value of the Rathor alliance. Morever, he lacked the quality of leadership for opposing the Mug-

1. Orme. pp: 123-125.
2. Ibid.
3. Manucci. Storia-de-Mogor vol. ii, pp, 258-259,
4. Ibid.
5. Jedhe Sakavali under reference of the year 1608 S.E, Phalguna; Orme: Historical fragments of Mogul Empire p. 292.
6. Ajitodaya. Canto xiii vv, 10-13; Ajit Granth vv. 1428, 1503-1510; The route taken by Durga Das was towards Javad, where he crosse the Narbada, then proceeded towards Malpura, Rewari, Rohtal Mundana and then reached Marwar,

hals in the North. The efforts to gain the Maratha support for the Rathor cause resulted in double tragedy: an exile for Akbar and the death of Shambhuji at the hands of the Mughals after his capture in 1689. However, it was a blessing to the Rathors. They got an opportunity to strengthen their local movement, for Marwar remained, during this period, undisturbed by any major Mughal inroads.

The return of Durga Das from the Deccan and the coming of Ajit Singh from his hideouts in 1687, stimulated the Rathor activity. They threatened Ajmer and other Mughal posts in Marwar, levied tax on the Mughal trade passing through their land to Gujrat and the Deccan in between 1690-1696.[1] The Emperor ,finding it difficult to spare troops for compaign against the Rathors, in face of the Maratha successes in the Decccan in 1695-1696, agreed for peace with Durga Das and Ajit Singh in May, 1698, appointing Ajit Singh the *faujdar* of Jalor, Sanchor and Siwana and conferring on Durga Das a *mansab* of 3000.[2] Ajit Singh offered his services to the Emp-

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1. Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri 121a,
   Ajitodaya Canto xiii vv. 13-14, Canto xiv (Further resistence);
   Canto xv, vv. 18-27,
   Ajit Granth - pp, 375, 359, 405-408;
   Raj Rupak : Prakash xvii, vv 28 and 59, pp. 297 and 305.
2. Maasir-i-Alamgiri p, 375;
   Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri 167a-168b,
   Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol, I p 338;
   Ajitodaya, Canto xv, vv. 5,
   R R

to avoid the possibility of a Rathor-Maratha league again, if Durga Das came towards south, he the Emperor kept Jodhpur as the venue of settlement (Raj Rupak: Prakash xiv vv 144 p 350.) Jalor is 25 21' N 72'E, about 75 miles S. of Jodhpur, Sanchor is 24'45' N 71'46' E, about 132 miles S, W, of Jodhpur, Siwana is 25'38' N 72.26' E, about 60 miles S.W. of Jodhpur.

eror with 4,000 horse in October, 1700.[1] But the Maratha success after 1700 in the South encouraged the Rathors and they began to show the signs of severing the connections with the Mughals. Durga Das took up the arms in Gujrat in 1701-1702.[2] Ajit Singh put off his repeated calls from the Emperor under various reasons.[3] Both joined togather and made attack on the Mughals in Marwar. As the position of Aurangzib in the South was not secure,[4] he tried to keep the Rathors in good humour. He further granted concessions to them in 1705, by assigning Merta to Ajit Singh and restoring old *mansabs* to Durga Das.[5] The advance of the Marathas in Gujrat and the victory of Dhanaji Jadav at Ratanpur on March 15, 1706,[6] made the Emperor alive to the probable formation of a Rathor-Maratha alliance.[7] To avoid this possibility Aurangzib proposed[8] in January, 1707, that if Ajit Singh safeguarded the Imperial interests in Gujrat he was ready to grant him concessions in Marwar, as desired. But before the proposals were responded, Aurangzib died on March 3, 1707, giving Ajit Singh an opportunity to establish his hold on Jodhpur on March 12.[9]

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1. Akhbarat dated 15th Jammdal-akhir 45 Ry./16 Nov. 1700: JP,
2. Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol. I pp. 348-351,
3. Ibid, pp. 344-345,
4. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol. ii pp. 521-527,
5. Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol. I p. 377
   Merta is 26°39' N 74°2'E, 73 miles by rail N.E. of Jodhpur.
6. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol. ii pp. 518-519;
   Mirat i-Ahmadi Vol, I pp, 378-383.
   Ratanpur is 21 24'N 73°26'E, about 14 miles. N. of Broach.
7. At this time Durga Das and Ajit Singh revolted again for the third time (Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol. I pp. 390 and 394).
8. Akhbarat dated 7th Zi-l-kada 51. Ry./31st January 1707. JP,
9. Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol. I p 397
   Ajitodaya. Canto xvii. vv. ll
   Raj Rupak : Prakash xxii, vv. 16. p. 407.

The Rathor movement would not have gained impetus if the Marathas had not taken up arms against the Mughals That drained all the resources of the Emperor The simultaneous movements of the Marathas in the South and Rathors in the North from 1690 to 1707 had an adverse effect on the Mughal politics The Emperor failed to subdue both the Marathas and the Rathors A successful defiance of the Mughal authority accentuated the political crisis of the Mughal court which hastened the fall of the Mughal Empire soon after the death of Aurangzib

(D) Rathors and the Marathas under Shahu

After the death of Aurangzib, Sources are silent about Maratha-Rathor relations It might be due to the fact that Ajit Singh was very busy from 1707 to 1710 in keeping the homeland free from Mughal domination [1] However he entered into an alliance with Bahadur Shah in May, 1710,[2] and secured from Jahandar Shah the governorship of Gujrat in 1712 [3] Due to the growing influence of the Sayyid brothers at the Imperial court during the reign of Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719) he entered into close friendship with them and got confir-

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1 Ajitodaya Canto xvii and xviii (full) xix vv 1-30

2 A Farman of Bahadur Shah dated 4th Rabi-ul akhir 1122H /9th May 17 0 (No 3) JD,
Akhbarat dated 24th Rabi ul-akhir 4 Ry /11th June 1710 JP,
Muntakhab-ul Lubab Vol ii pp 605 607,
Ajitodaya Canto xix (full)-
Seir Vol I, p 67

3 Akhbarat dated 25th Shawwal 1 Ry /12th Nov 1702,
and dated 7th Zi l-kada 1 Ry /25th Nov 1712
A report (Rajasthani) from Jagjiwan to Maharaja of Jaipur dated 9th day of the dark half of Margasirsha v s 1769/11th Nov 1712.
(Vakil Report) JP

med in December 1714 his governorship of Gujrat,[1] where he remained till July 1717.[2] Soon after his release from Mughal captivity in May, 1707,[3] Shahu, on his part was also busy in a contest with Tarabai for his parental throne. From 1708 he took steps to solve the internal problems of his state. As such there was little occasion for direct Rathor-Maratha relations for common action. It seems that the relations were cordial as we find that when Ajit Singh was made the governor of Gujrat, he began a policy of safeguarding the Rathor interest there and annexing its border lands into Marwar[4] and that the Marathas, who were also immediate neighbours as their dominion extended as far as Surat under Khande Rao Dabhade,[5] did not come into any clash with the Rathors.

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1. The Reports (Rajasthani) from Jagjiwan to Maharaja of Jaipur dated 5th day of the dark-half of Kartika vs. 1770/27th Sept,, 1713; (it gives Ajit Singh's secret relation with the Sayyids); dated 1st day of the dark-half of-Vaisaka vs. 1771/21st March 1714 (it mentions Husain Ali's march towards Marwar); dated bright-half of Jyeshtha vs, 1771 May 1714 (Ajit Singh entered into relation with Farrukhsiyar) and dated 9th day of bright-half of second Ashadha vs. 1771/10th July 1714 (Abhay Singh brought to the Mugal Court by Husain Ali), (Vakil Report), JP,
   The secret letters sent by Farrukhsiyar to Ajit Singh to murder Husain Ali, were shown by the Rathor Chief to Husain Ali. The latter secured for the former the Subahdari of Gujrat in 1714;
   Ajitodaya. Canto xx. vv. 29;
   Raj Rupak : Prakash xxvi vv, 43 p, 470, It mentions that Abhay Singh was appointed as governor of Gujrat (Wrong)
2. Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol.ii p.12;
   Ajitodaya. Canto xxiv. vv.40;
   Marwar Khyat Vol.ii p.106.
3. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol.ii p.582.
4. Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol.ii pp.1-12 and pp.28-35;
   Ajitodaya. Canto xxii (full), xxiii vv. 1-35;
   Raj Rupak : Praksh xxvii vv. 1-28 pp.475-477, vv.1-42. pp.485-493.
5. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol.ii pp.777-778,

The Emperor was not happy with the Sayyid brothers, who had strengthened their hold in the Imperial court with close association of Ajit Singh on one hand and by an alliance with the Marathas in February, 1718, on the other hand [1] In order to break the power of the Sayyids the Emperor recalled Ajit-Singh from Gujrat and confered upon him great honours in August-September, 1718,[2] in the hope that he might not be the active participant with the Sayyids However, Ajit Singh remained inclined towards Abdullah Khan who, finding the court politics worsening and his position becoming precarious, called on his brother, Husain Ali along with the Marathas immediately in the North, as advised by Ajit Singh [3] The Maratha force under Balaji Vishwanath carried Husain Ali to Delhi, where they encamped near the quarters of Ajit Singh on February 7, 1719 [4] Soon after Ajit Singh and Husain Ali took control of the Delhi fort and a Maratha force under Balaji Vishwanath was posted to defend it and crush any opposition which might

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1 Muntakhab-ul Lubab Vol ii p 784

Dr A G Powar's article 'Some Original Documents of Mughal-Maratha Relations' I H R C proceedings (1940) pp 204-212

2 A letter of Ajit Singh to Dayal Das dated 11th day of the dark half of Jyeshtha vs 1775/4th May 1719 Jd Ibid dated 8th day of the bright-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1775/22nd Aug, 1718 Jd

A Kharita from Rana Sangram Singh to Ajit Singh dated 10th day of bright half of Margasirsha vs 1775/6th Nov 1718 pf No 2 Kh 16 Jd

Muntakhab ul-Lubab Vol ii p 792 (it wrongly mentions that Ajit Singh was called from Ahmadabad At that time he was at Jodhpur as is reported by the Author of Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol II p 12);

Ajitodaya Canto xxvi vv 50

Raj Rupak : Prakash xxvi vv 61-64 pp 508-509

3 A letter from Ajit Singh to Dayal Das dated 11th day of the dark-half of Jyeshtha vs 1775/4th May 1719 Jd

4 Ibid,

Muntakhab-ul Lubab Vol ii p 804

arise in the city [1] All opposition was ruthlessly put down by the Marathas, involving heavy loss of their men.[2] On February 18, Farrukhsiyar was deposed by the Rathor chief and the Sayyids and Rafi-ud-Darajat was proclaimed Emperor.[3]

The position of Ajit Singh and the Sayyid brothers became formidable under the new ruler. They were successful in getting *Jizya* abolished[4] and in ratifying the alliance, which Husain Ali entered into with the Marathas in 1718.[5] Ajit Singh, besides keeping Gujrat for himself, also acquired the governorship of Ajmer.[6] In March, 1719, the Maratha force left Delhi for the Deccan. However, with the accession of Muhammad

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1. A letter of Maharaja Ajit Singh to Dayal Das dated 11th day of the dark-half of Jyeshtha vs 15/774th May 1719. Jd
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol.ii p.805;
Ajitodaya. Canto xxvii. vv.23, 41-47;
Seir. Vol.I p. 132.

2. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol.ii pp.812-813;
Ajitodaya. Canto xxvii vv.49-50;
Seir. Vol.I pp.132-133;
The Marathas lost some 1500 to 2000 men.

3. A letter of Maharaja Ajit Singh to Dayal Das dated 11th day of the dark-half of Jyeshtha vs.1775/4th May 1719, Jd.
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol.ii pp;814-816;
Ajitodaya. Canto xxvii. vv,48-51,

4. A letter of Maharaja Ajit Singh to Dayal Das dated 11th day of the dark-half of Jyeshtha vs.1775/4th May, 1719 Jd,
A Kharita from Rana. Sangram Singh to Ajit Singh (undated), pf. 2 Kh. 17. Jd;
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol.ii p.816;
Seir, Vol I p.137,

5. Dr, A.G. Powar's article 'Some Original Documents of Mughal-Maratha Relations' I.H.R.C. Proceedings 1940 pp, 204-212,

6. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol.ii p.838;
Ajitodaya. Canto xxvii. vv.57.
Seir. Vol.I p.138, 231,

Shah in September, 1719, the Sayyids became unpopular with the *Turani* party The Emperor, allying himself with the *Turani* party in the court, got Husain Ali assassinated on October 8 and imprisoned Abdullah Khan on November 13, 1720 Their partisan, Ajit Singh was deprived of the governorship of Gujrat and Ajmer in May, 1721[1] and ultimately done to death at the dictates of the Mughal court on June 23, 1724 [2]

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1 Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol ii p 937; Mirat i Ahmadi Vol ii p 38

2 Ajitodaya Canto xxxi vv 32-33 Marwar Khyat Vol ii p 183

CHAPTER TWO

The Dawn of the Maratha Influence in Marwar

(1724-1749 A.D.)

(A) Family feud and Abhay Singh

The murder of Ajit Singh by his son, Bakht Singh on June 23, 1724, plunged Marwar into a bloody war of succession among his (Ajit Singh's) sons for the throne of Jodhpur. The Mughal Emperor recognised Abhay Singh as the new ruler on July 25[1]. However, the younger sons of Ajit Singh Anand Singh and Rai Singh raised the standard of revolt. They were supported by the chiefs of Jaitaot, Kumpaot and Udaot Rathors. Their immediate success was overwhelming and soon they occupied the fertile plains of Godwad, Sojat and Jaitaran.[2] They threatened Merta and ransacked the country around it[3]. Their increasing strength began to threaten the Rathor capital (Jodhpur). Abhay Singh, who was at Delhi, asked his *Dewan* Bhandari Raghunath[4] to take rigorous measures against the rebels. The *Dewan* got help from the Jaipur ruler, who deputed his general Rai Shiva Das for the

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1. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Vol. ii p 974;
   Abhyodaya. Canto vi. vv. 11-12.
   He received the title of 'Paj Rajeshwar' with a rank of 7,000 Zat and 7,000 Sawar.

2. Letters from Abhay Singh to Abhay Karan dated 7th day of the dark-hal of Margasirsha vs. 1781/October 27, 1725 and dated 11th day of the brigh half of Ashadha vs. 1781/July 9, 1725. Jd.

3. Ajitodaya. Canto xxxii vv. 2-3.
   A parwana (draft) from Jay Singh to Shiva Das dated 7th day of the dar half of Margasirsha vs. 1781/October 27, 1724. JP.
   Godwad is a track, nearly 1543 Sq. miles, covering the tehsils of Bali an Desuri, S.E. of Jodhpur.
   Jaitaran is 26° 13', N 70°, 51' E, about 56 miles east of Jodhpur.

4. A parwana (draft) from Jay Singh to Shiva Das dated 7th day of the dar half of Margasirsha vs 1781/Oct. 27, 1724. JP.

purpose.[1] Jay Singh informed the Maharana of Udaipur on November 13, that the situation in Marwar had worsened to such an extent that the Emperor had relieved Maharaji Abhay Singn from the Imperial court and allowed him to go to his native land in order to settle the internal matters [2] He further requested the Maharana to send Sisodia forces to help Abhay Singh.[3]

On the eve of his departure from Delhi the Maharaja promised the Emperor that he would spare a force of 20 to 30 thousand soldiers for the Mughal service,[4] whenever he was asked to do so in lieu of the *Jagir* and financial help that he would receive from the Emperor [5] Thus with the help of the strong contingents from Jaipur and Mewar Abhay Singh crushed the revolt of his brothers and unfurled his flag over the Jodhpur fort early in 1725,[6] Anand Singh and Rai Singh fled to Gujrat [7] Abhay Singh further strengthened his position by securing the co-operation of his brother Bakht Singh, to whom he had transferred the administration of Nagor [8]

1 Ibid

2 A Kharita (draft)from Jay Singh to Maharana of Udaipur dated 8th day of the dark-half of Margasirsha, vs. 1781/Nov. 13, 1724. JP

3 Ibid

4 A Kharita (draft) from Jay Singh to Abhay Singh dated 8th day of the dark-half of Margasirsha vs 1782/2nd Dec. 1725 JP

5 Ibid

6 Marwar-Khyat Vol ii p. 125

7 A Kharita from Abhay Singh to Jay Singh dated 10th day of the bright-half of Chaitra vs. 1781/March 31, 1726 JP.

8 A letter of Bakht Singh to Pancholi Bal Krishna dated 8th day of the dark-half of Sravana vs 1786/7th July 1729, Jd. It gives that the actual transfer of power on Nagor was made on 30th June 1729 Tod mentions that Nagor was taken after an assault on Inder Singh, grand son of Amar Singh, by Abhay Singh (Vol ii p 1037) Marwar-Khyat observes that it was bestowed

In the meantime, the political situation in Gujrat drew the immediate attention of the Imperial court, which required Abhay Singh to be present in Gujrat. Sarbuland Khan was appointed the *Subahdar* of Gujrat in January 1725, in place of the Nizam-ul-Mulk. The new governor did not at once proceed to Gujrat but appointed Sujaat Khan to act as his deputy. The new arrangements were not liked by Nizam-ul-Mulk. He urged his uncle, Hamid Khan, who represented him in that province, to guard against the change, The Nizam had also secured the services of the Marathas by agreeing not to oppose their advance into Malwa and Gujrat.[1] The Marathas spread over Gujrat and levied *chauth*. The Emperor asked Sarbuland Khan to take the personal charge of the province. At the same time, he informed Abhay Singh to accompany him.[2] Sarbuland Khan left Delhi in April 1725. Abhay Singh, himself, did not proceed but directed the allied Kachhwaha and Sisodia forces to proceed to Gujrat.[3] the Rathor interest lay in the defence of Idar, in Gujrat, which was bestowed on Abhay Singh by the Emperor. The allied forces were instructed to save it from the Maratha attacks,[4] and they did so successfully.[5] Soon Abhay Singh realised that the Maharana of Udaipur had an eye on Idar. Hence, he demanded the

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to Abhay Singh by the Emperor in July, 1724 and it was given to Bakht Singh in October, 1725 (Vol. ii p. 126).
Nagor is 27° 12'N 73° 44', E, about 84 miles N.E. of Jodhpur.

1. S.P.D. x 1.

2 A Kharita from Jay Singh to Abhay Singh dated 4th day of the bright-half Karttika vs. 1782/October 29, 1725 Jd.

3. A Kharita from Jay Singh to Abhay Singh dated 4th day of Asvina vs. 1782/Sep. 29, 1725. JP.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.



Abhay Singh, Jodhpur



Abhay Singh, Jodhpur

mmediate withdrawl of his allies forces from that place. But both Jay Singh and the Maharana refused to oblige him on the pretext that their withdrawl would bring fresh inroads on Idar and undo their work,[1]

Abhay Singh personally did not move from Jodhpur for he wanted the promised financial aid from the Emperor,[2] otherwise, he was prepared to spare only four to five hundred soldiers.[3] The offer was inadequate. The court's feelings were communicated to Abhay Singh by Jay Singh in his letter dated December 2, 1725,[4] telling him that if he was not prepared to move to Gujrat and spare 2,000 soldiers at least, serious consequence might follow.[5] Jai Singh also hinted that if the Maharaja took up the journey to Gujrat, the promised financial help would immediately follow[6] Threatened by the consequences of delay and intimidated by the repeated pressure from Jai-Singh, Abhay Singh obeyed the Imperial orders He set out for Gujrat on November 22, 1725, [7] taking the route through Jalor.[8] The charge of the Jodhpur administration was entrus-

1 Ibid. Jay Singh had suggested to the Maharaja that Idar might be sold to the Maharana of Udaipur in return of a cash payment (Ibid)

2 A Khanta (draft) from Jay Singh to Abhay Singh dated 2nd day of the dark-half of Margasirsha vs 1782/25th Nov 1725, R A JP Rc.

3 Ibid-dated 8th day of the dark-hall of Margasirsha vs 1782/2nd Dec 1725 Jp

4 Ibid

5 Ibid

The Emperor called Inder Singh in order to rebestow him the territory of Nagor and expressed his desire to call Anand Singh to the Imperial court so that he might be recognised as the ruler of Jodhpur The court favoured the feelings of the Emperor

6 Ibid. dated 3rd day of the bright-half of Margasirsha vs 1782/26th Nov 1725 Jp

7 A Khanta (draft) from Jay Singh to Abhay Singh dated 12th day of the dark-half of Pausha vs 1782/20th Dec, 1725 Jp

8. Ibid-dated 11th day of the bright-half of Pausha vs 1782/3rd Jan 1726

Sirohi.[1] Though the Maharana assured Abhay Singh that he would see that they did not proceed further, [2] he entertained overtures from Anand Singh [3] for a compromise. Abhay Singh did not like the move of the Maharana but when in 1728 Kanthaji and Pilaji invaded Marwar and looted the district of Jalor, he decided to purchase peace.[4] Bhandari Khimvsi was sent to negotiate with the two Maratha leaders. He was successful in making them withdraw from Jalor.[5] At the same time, on the advice from Jay Singh he agreed to close down the long struggle with his brothers by agreeing to his proposal in August, 1728, that Idar as a *Jagir* might be given to them.[6]

(B) Abhay Singh and his Subahdari of Gujrat

Sarbuland Khan's position in Gujrat was not stable. The expected help from Abhay Singh did not reach him. This made his position more precarious against the onslaughts of the Marathas under Pilaji and Kanthaji Bande.[7] It resulted in his capitulation to the Marathas in February, 1727, by which he granted the *chauth* for the *Subah*, previously assigned by Hamid Khan to Kanthaji Bande and Pilaji Gaikwar. In 1730

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1. Ibid.
2. A Kharita from Sangram Singh to Abhay Singh, dated 2nd day of the dark-half of Karttika vs. 1784/21st Sept 1727. R.A., Jd. Rec. Pf, No. 3 file No. 2.
3. A Kharita from Abhay Singh to Maharana of Udaipur dated 2nd day of the dark-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1785/10th Aug. 1728; Ud.
4. Marwar Khyat vol. ii p. 131.
5. Ibid.
6. A Kharita from Abhay Singh to Maharana of Udaipur dated 2nd day of the dark-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1785/Aug. 10, 1728,
   A Kharita from Jay Singh to Maharana Sangram Singh dated 13th day of the dark-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1785/22nd Aug. 1728. Ud.
7. S.P.D. xxx 312

he again signed a pact with Chimnaji Appa by which *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* were assigned to the Peshwa [1]

The surrender of *chauth* and *sardesmukhi* of Gujrat to the Marathas by Sarbuland Khan was eyed with suspicion in the Imperial court as indicating the growing desire of the governor to carve out an Independent principality for himself with the help of the Marathas [2] He was dismissed and Maharaja Abhay Singh was appointed as the governor of Gujrat[3] as *he was then free from his civil strife. The Maharaja proceeded* towards Ahmadabad from Jodhpur on March 18,1730,[4] with a large force consisting of 20,000 soldiers, forty pieces of guns, 200 maunds of gun-powder and 100 maunds of lead [5] On Sarbuland Khan s refusal to hand over the charge of the governorship, Maharaja Abhay Singh recoursed to war and defeated him on the banks of the river Sabarmati on October 10,1730 [6] Sarbuland Khan was then forced to leave the country [7] Abhay Singh increased his military strength by annexing nearly 273 pieces of big and small guns, surrendered by Sarbuland Khan [8] The sphere of the effective authority, held by the new governor

1. S.P D xv 86
2. A letter from Abhay Singh to Amar Singh Bhandari dated 12th day of the bright half of Karttik vs 1787/10th Nov 1730 Jd.
3. Raj Rupak Prakash xlii vv 80 p 656
   Seir Vol I p 254
4. Raj Rupak Prakash xlii vv 238 p 699
5. A letter of Abhay Singh to Amar S ngh Bhandari dated 12th day of the bright-half of Karttika vs 1787/10th Nov 1730 Jd
6. Ibid- dated 2nd day of dark-half of Karttika vs 1787/16th Oct 173
   Raj Rupak : Prakash xliv vv 1-470 pp 707 811 Seir Vol I p
7. Ibid.
8. Mirat i-Ahmadi Vol ii p 131

The new governor was alarmed at the serious state of affairs in the neighbourhood of Ahmabadad. The coming of the Nizam towards Gujrat in association with Muhammed Khan Bangash was looked upon with grave suspicions, as the Nizam and the Rathor were old enemies[1] The Maharaja thought that if Dabhade succeeded with the help of the Nizam, his position in Gujrat would be weakened and it would deprive him of the long coveted[2] province of Gujrat, which he had gained for himself - relying on his own forces and putting the lives of the Rathors at stake.[3] In order to meet the situation the Maharaja asked for help from the Imperial court.[4] But the court was not alive to the grave situation arising in Gujrat as a result of the combination of Dabhade and the Nizam. The Emperor turned a deaf ear to repeated requests of the Maharaja and instead, he asked Abhay Singh to co-operate with the Nizam in resisting Baji Rao.[5]

(C) The Mughal, the Maratha and the Rathor Interests in Gujrat.

The importance of Gujrat could not be underestimated. It was of prime importance for one weilding authority in the

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1. Abhay Singh to Amar Singh dated 14th day of the bright-half of Chaitra vs. 1787/April 10, 1731: Jd.;
Seir. I.p. 257.
2. Bakht Singh letter dated 13th day of the bright-half of Asvina vs. 1784/ Sept. 17, 1727 Jd.
3. Abhay Singh to Amar Singh dated 12th day of the bright-half of Karttika vs. 1787/Nov. 10, 1730. Jd.
4. Abhay Singh to Amar Singh dated 12th day of the bright-half of Karttika vs 1787/Nov. 10, 1730 and dated 8th day of the dark-half of Magha vs. 1787/Jan. 17, 1731. Jd.
5. Abhay Singh to Amar Singh dated 14th day of bright-half of Chaitra vs. 1787/April 10, 1731. Jd.

Northern India It remained a valued possession of the Mughal Empire from its conquest by Akbar in 1573 Handicrafts and commerce were the main sources of wealth of the province All merchandise of the rich inland districts of Khandesh, Malwa, Berar and even upper India had to cross Gujrat for shipment abroad. On its coasts stood the famous ports of Broach and Surat. Through Surat passed the enormous volume of Muslim pilgrims to the holy cities of Arabia Travellers, merchants, scholars, fortune hunters and political refugees from Persia, Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, Zanzibar and Khurasan used to enter India through the Gujrat ports The central government of the Mughals at Delhi always regarded their control over Gujrat as a regular source of revenue both from the land and the sea. It also served as a military base for further expansion of the Mughal authority in the south Free communications from north to south were possible only as long as Gujrat remained under their rule. Thus the hold over Gujrat was necessary for their domination in the Northern India, as well as of the South. But after the death of Aurangzib, the Mughals began to lose their hold over it Every governor appointed tried to throw off the yoke of allegiance and establish his own semi-independent authority with the money he got from the Imperial treasury Every change in the governorship was hotly contested.[1] That resulted in the deteriorating position of the Mughal administration in Gujrat

The Marathas had begun to look towards Gujrat as a source of perpetual income since the days of Shivaji. Later on, they began to covet its possession as it [illegible] of their policy of

2. A letter from Abhay Singh to Amar Singh Bhandari dated 12th day of the bright-half of Karttika vs 1787/10th Nov 1730, Jd
For details of such contests see Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol, ii pp 145-166,

side had disturbed the internal peace of Jodhpur.[1] It was strategically of great importance that the Rathors should either keep Gujrat under their influence or see that the political conditions of that land did not disturb their frontier. The richness of the land of Gujrat attracted the Rathors as a compensation for the dry west part of the territory. The north-east. east and south frontiers were the only spheres beyond which they could extend their territory.[2] Raja Sur Singh of Jodhpur began such a policy when he secured for himself an honourable Mughal office in Gujrat in 1596. Maharaja Jasvant Singh I and his son Ajit Singh had been the Mughal governors of Gujrat in 1659–1662 and 1715–1717 and again in 1719 respectively. Both the chiefs had their *jagirs* in Gujrat and Ajit Singh had followed the policy of expansion of Marwar frontier towards it.[3] Abhay Singh, following the footsteps of his father, coveted the governorship of the province in 1727.[4] When Baji Rao had allotted the *Saranjami* of Jodhpur to Malhar Rao Holkar in 1728,[5] the need to keep Gujrat under the Rather influence became urgent, in order to keep Marwar safe from the inroads of the Marathas. On the dismissal of Sarbuland Khan, the Emperor bestowed the

1. Anand Singh entered into matrimonial alliance with the Marathas and asked them to accompany him to Jodhpur. (A Kharita from Abhay Singh to Jay Singh dated 10th day of the bright-half of Chaitra vs. 1782/31st March 1726 Jp.)
   Jasvantpura is 24°47'N 72°28'E, about 39 miles N W. of Abu Road Station.
   Bhinmal is 25°N 72°16'E, about 50 miles N.W. of Abu Road Station.
2. Abhay Singh had demanded from the Emperor the territories of Rajgarh Masuda, Khairwa, Bhinai in Ajmer district and Fatehpur, Jhujhunu in Shekhawati in 1730. (A letter of Abhay Singh to Amar Singh Bhandari dated 12th day of the bright-half of Karttika vs. 1787/10th Nov. 1730. Jd.)
3. Ajitodaya canto xxii and xxiii vv. 1-35;
   Marwar Khyat vol. I p. 142.
4. A letter from Bakht Singh dated 13th day of the dark-half of Asvina vs. 1784/17th Sept. 1727. (Jd.)
5. S.P.D. (New Series) Vol. I.6.

governorship of Gujrat on him. He (Abhaysingh) did not lose time in joining his new assigment in 1730, without pressing for money and military assistance at that moment [1]

(D) The Ahmadabad Pact of 1731 and its consequnces

Unsupported by the Mughal court on the issue of Gujrat, Abhay Singh weighed the possibilities of a future action He devised a plan of making an amicable settlement with the Peshwa He sent Rathor Amar Singh, Ajimulla Khan and Bijay Singh Bhandari to Baji Rao to meet him at Ahmadabad [2] The Peshwa agreed to it and he came on January 23, 1731, to Ahmadabad, where he stayed as a royal guest at Shahibagh for a month.[3] An agreement[4] was signed by both the parties in February, 1731 and the terms were

1 The Peshwa shall help the Maharaja to expel Pilaji Gaikwar and Kanthaji Bande from Gujrat.

2 Abhay Singh shall pay rupees 13 lacs in lieu of the *chauth* of Gujrat

3 Six lacs shall be paid immediately and the remaining sum shall be paid after the Peshwa has expelled Pilaji and Kanthaji and himself vacated Gujrat The forces of the Peshwa shall have the right to re-enter Gujrat if Palaji and Bande come back there.

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1 A letter from Abhay Singh to Amar Singh Bhandari dated 12th day of the bright-half of Karttika vs 1787/10th Nov 1730 Jd

2 Marwar-ki-Khyat Vol. ii p 139

3 Ibid

4 A letter from Abhay Singh to Amar Singh Bhandari dated 14th day of the bright-half of Chaitra vs 1787/10 April 1731 Jd.
A letter from Daniel Innes to Henry Lowther dated 7th April 1731 No 67 Surat Factory Diary Vol 614.
Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol ii pp 134-135.
Marwar-Khyat Vol ii p 139

4. No other Maratha force shall enter Gujrat except that of Baji Rao.

5. Bareda shall be handed over to the Maharaja after its capture.

6. The Maharaja shall supply a Rathor contingent of 2,500 horse along with a Mughal force to Baji Rao.

This pact was signed on the lines of the agreement arrived at between Chimnaji and Sarbuland Khan nearly a year ago.[1] Abhay Singh recognised the right of the Peshwa to levy *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* in Gujrat. In return, Baji Rao promised to drive Pilaji and Bande out of Gujrat with an end to remove the Dabhade influence. 'By this arrangement, Abhay Singh hoped to get rid of Pilaji Gaikwar who had entrenched himself in Surat *athavisi*, while the Peshwa imagined that by driving out this able representative of the Senapati he would fix his hold over the province.' The pact recognised only one authority in Gujrat in the person of the Peshwa and the governor secured even the exit of it after Dabhade and his agents had been cleared off. Thus his free rule in lieu of the *chauth* of rupees 13 lacs was assured. However, the Peshwa obtained the right to re-enter, if Pilaji and Kanthaji attempted to regain their influence and coerce the governor to pay *chauth* to them.

The agreement was expected to be beneficial to Abhay Singh, who, with only 2,500 horse and six lacs of rupees, was to drive away the Maratha menance from his immediate neighbourhood. He preferred Baji Rao to Dabhade because, allying with him would help the Rathor chief not only to staba-

1. According to this agreement Sarbuland Khan agreed to pay 5% of the revenue of Ahmadabad and Sardeshmukhi of Gujrat except that of Surat (Rajwade; Vol. ii p. 59).

use his hold on Gujrat but also strengthen his position against the Nizam. However, he dreamt of his hegemony over Gujrat but the following events suggest that it was a wishful thinking on his part.

As agreed Baji Rao proceeded towards Baroda to capture it for Abhay Singh, from Pilaji's brother Malaji, with a Rathore contingent under Bhandari Bijay Singh and Rathore Amar Singh.[1] As he approached near Sawali by March 25, 1731, he got the information about the movements of Dabhade *and the* Nizam The latter had met Muhammed Khan Bangash for joint action against the Peshwa and the Rathors, in the last week of March, 1731. With Nizam's attitude clearly hostile, the Peshwa lost no time to allow him to join Dabhade With Abhay Singh's forces and artillery at his back, Baji Rao struck at the *Senapati's* army.[2] Dabhade was routed and killed on Thursday, the first April, 1731, on the plains of Bhilapur, near Dabhoi [3] His chiefs Pilaji, Kanthaji and Anand Rao fled but Baroda remained under Malaji.[4] The Rathor–Peshwa victory was hailed by the Maharaja and he recommended to the Emperor to bestow 'a robe of honour, a *farman*, an elephant and a *mansab* to Baji Rao for his meritorious services to the Emperor [5]

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1 Marwar-Khyat Vol ii p. 139.
2 A letter of Âbhay Singh to Amar Singh Bhandari dated 14th day of the bright-half of Chaitra vs 1787/10th April 1731 Jd.
3. Ibid,
Rajwade ii p 61,
S P.D xii 46 ;
Bhilapur is half way between Baroda and Dabhoi about 15 miles of each
4 A letter from Abhay Singh to Amar Singh Bhandari dated 14th day of the bright-half of Chaitra vs 1787/10th April 1731 Jd.
5. Ibid.

But the imperial court took a different view of all these affairs. The Khan-i-Dauran doubted the intention of Abhay Singh to win over Baji Rao to the side of the Emperor.[1] He feared that Baji Rao, being afraid of Trimbak Rao, had joined the Maharaja in that way and would not help the Mughals in any bigger task.[2] Relying on the information supplied by the Nizam, the *Wazir* not only declined to ratify the Ahmadabad pact of 1731 February, but also asked the Maharaja to drive Baji Rao away and give him no help.[3] Secret instructions were sent to him, the Nizam, and Khan Bangash to punish Baji Rao, arrest him[4] and murder him too.[5] Abhay Singh protested against such a policy to be followed towards Baji Rao.[6] He wrote to the *Wazir* through his *vakil* that Baji Rao if left alone would join Pilaji and Kanthaji. Under such circumstances it was difficult to keep the Mughal and Rathore hold on Gujrat. He further argued that the *Wazir* should give effect to his recommendations so that Gujrat might not be lost to the Mughals.[7] Abhay Singh was so hopeful of his alliance with Baji Rao in keeping his sway over Gujrat that he asked his *vakil* in the Mughal court to take leave from the Emperor and come back, if the *Wazir* did not pay heed to his recommendations.[8] Meanwhile the secret instructions from the *Wazir* were conveyed to Baji Rao by the Nizam.[9] Baji Rao became

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. (Second letter of the same date).
5. A letter from Maharaja Abhay Singh to Amar Singh Bhandari dated 9th day of the dark-half of Jyeshtha vs. 1787/18th May 1731. Jd.
6. Ibid. dated 14th day of bright-half of Chaitra vs 1787/18th April 173 : Jd.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid (Second letter of the same date).

suspicious of the designs of Abhay Singh. The Maharaja tried o give him assurances of good faith by reminding the *Wazir* o dispatch the honours and *farman* to Baji Rao immediately but the Peshwa, having confirmed the news from different sources, decided to leave the Maharaja.[1] He withdrew from Baroda in April, 1731 and rushed towards Satara, where the political situation required his presence [2] He broke off all relations with Abhay Singh in June 1731 and called back his *pandit* from Jodhpur [3]

(E) The murder of Pilaji Gaikwar (March 23, 1732)

The action of the Peshwa disillusioned the Maharaja The matters got complicated, when, after the battle of Bhilapur, Shahu, recognised the right of Dabhade to levy *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from Gujrat,[4] nullifying the decisions arrived at in Ahmadabad. The new *Senapati* Yashvant Rao, being a minor, could not administer the province. Hence, the entire management of his affairs was left to Pilaji Gaikwar. Though defeated, Pilaji had retained his hold on Baroda and the fort of Dabhoi.[5] His strength also lay in the support he got from the Kolis and Bhils of Gujrat, who in *particular* and the people in general, were tired of the tyrannous policy followed by the Mughal governor for collecting land

1 Ibid

2 Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol ii pp 134-135, S P D xii 49

3 A letter from Baji Rao to Maharaja Jay Singh dated 7th day of the dark-half of Ashadha vs 1788/15th June 1731 (KS) Jp.

4 S P D xii 54 55

5 A letter from Abhay Singh to Amar Singh Bhandari dated 14th day of the bright-half of Chaitra vs. 1787/10th April 1731. Jd.

revenue and other taxes.[1] Abhay Singh regarded the rise of Pilaji in Gujrat as the immediate threat to his authority

When the Peshwa left him, he first tried to win over Pilaji to his side,[2] but on his refusal he devised a plan to murder him.[3] The Maharaja sent Ida Lakhdhir, Pancholi Ramanand and Bhandari Ajab Singh to Pilaji, who was at Dakore,[4] with the pretext to finalise the terms for the payment of *chauth* and *sardesmukhi*.[5] The party was also instructed that on receipt of their written request a contingent of 2,000 selected cavalry would be sent to help them in their mission to get rid of Pilaji.[6] Accordingly, on March 23, 1732, when the contingent encamped near Dakore, Ida Lakhdhir sought an interview with Pilaji in order to obtain permission for leaving the camp and there he killed him late at night.[7] The Marathas dispersed in confusion.[8]

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1. Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol. ii pp. 136-141.
   It mentions that Maharaja adopted the method of forged farmans, debased coins and confiscating the endowed land for collecting money, a large amount of which was sent to Jodhpur. The total revenue of 3 years as mentioned in Marwar-Khayat was 85, 34, 000 rupees (Vol. ii p. 138),
   Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali p. 268. vv. 31.
2. A letter from Abhay Singh to Amar Singh Bhandari dated 11th day of the bright-half of Chaitra vs. 1788/26th March 1732, Jd.
3. Ibid; and the letter dated 13th day of the bright-half of Vaisaka vs. 1788/26th April. 1732. Jd.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
   Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii p. 140.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid;
   Dakore is 22°45'N 73°11'E, a favourite place of Hindu pilgrimmage, on the Pali to Anand branch of Western Railway (Broad Gauge)
8. A letter from Abhay Singh to Amar Singh Bhandari dated 13th day of the bright-half of Vaisaka vs. 1788/26th April 1732. Jd.
   Maharaja reported to the Wazir that he had captured 700 to 800 horses and some pieces of artillery from the Marathas on this occasion.

With the removal of Pilaji the task of Abhay Singh was simplified. He was able to make progress within a month by capturing 24 forts along with Baroda in April, 1732 and in making a position to lay the siege of Dabhoi.[1] Finding it difficult to capture it, the Maharaja sent urgent messages to the *Wazir*, through his agent at Delhi to instruct the *Kiledar* of Surat to sent big pieces of artillery so that the siege might be raised with success before the setting in of the rainy season, which might prove beneficial to the Marathas to re-inforce themselves[2] The court remained silent[3] Owing to the approach of the rainy season the Maharaja was obliged to withdraw from Dabhoi and having given the defence of Baroda to Sher-Khan Babi, its *faujdar*, he returned to Ahmadabad[4] Soon a severe famine stalked in and the Mughal governor failed to redress its pangs on the army[5] The soldiers clamoured for the payment of the arrears also[6]

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1 Ibid- 2nd day of the dark-half of *Jyeshtha* vs 1788/30th April 1732 and the letter dated first day of the dark-half of Bhadrapada vs 1789/27th July 1732, Jd (See Appendix No A)

2 Ibid-dated 2nd day of the dark-half of Jyeshtha vs. 1788/30th April 1732 and the letter dated 11th day of the bright-half of Ashada vs 1788/7th June 1732 Jd

3 Ibid-dated 1st day of the dark-half of Bhadrapada vs 1789/27th July 1732 Jd
The Court believed that the Maharaja had a revenue of 30 lacs of rupees from Baroda hence it did not sent any help.

4 Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol ii pp. 143-144

5 A letter from Abhay Singh to Amar Singh Bhandari dated 1st day of the dark-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1789/27th July 1732 Jd
The wheat was sold at the rate of less than a seer for a rupee; the grass was not available, the soldiers and the horses ate the leaves of mango trees resulting in the death of fine breed horses

6. Ibid
The arrears totalled to rupees 30 lacs. The Maharaja arranged the defence of Baroda by pacifying the army of Sher Khan Babi with the payment of rupees one lac, taken on loan

The Marathas, availing themselves of the conditions of the Mughal governor, made themselves the masters of Gujrat again. In the case of Kanthaji Kadam the Maharaja tried to repeat the policy adopted by him against Pilaji but the former escaped[1] Damaji Gaikwar, son of Pilaji, ravaged the eastern part of Gujrat and moving northwards threatened Marwar in 1732.[2] In the beginning of 1733, Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindia occupied Champaner and Pavagarh.[3] Vigorous measures were taken by Uma Bai Dabhade to establish her supremacy. She marched on Ahmadabad with an army of 70,000 soldiers and laid its siege in February, 1733.[4] The Maratha pressure all round forced Abhay Singh to come to terms, which were settled through the mission of Abhay Karan, son of Durga Das.[5] The Maharaja agreed to pay the *chauth* and *sardesh mukhi* of Gujrat and rupees 80,000 out of the revenue of Ahmadabad to Uma Bai.[6] She also forced Sher Khan Babi, the *faujdar* of Baroda to pay the *chauth*.[7]

The formidable pressure of the Marathas in Gujrat posing a threat to his position and prestige and creating troubles at the Mughal court and the danger of an invasion on Marwar[8] by the ruler of Bikaner compelled the Maharaja to entrust his

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1. Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii p. 139.
2. Grant Duff : History of the Marahattas Vol. I p. 381.
3. S. P. D. Xiv I;
4. S P. D. Xiv I;
   Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol ii pp. 157-158;
   Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali p. 269. vv. 37.
5. Marwar-Khyat Vol ii. p. 141.
6. Rajawade: Vol. ii. pp. 64;
   Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol. ii pp. 160-161;
   Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii p. 141. It mentions that Abhay Singh agreed to pay rupees 2 lacs.
7. Mirat-i- Ahmadi Vol. ii p. 161.
8. Dayal Das-Khyat Vol. ii Leaf. 61.

responsibilities to his deputy Ratan Singh Bhandari and leave Gujrat in the middle of 1733 [1] Henceforth Bhandari watched the Rathor interest in Gujrat from 1733 to 1737.[2] Later on, the viceroyalty of the province was transferred to Momin Khan, who took over the control of the province on May 26, 1737, in the teeth of opposition from Ratan Singh Bhandari [3]

(F) The Joint Rajput Princes' Front against the Marathas

Soon after his coming to Marwar Abhay Singh waged a war against the ruler of Bikaner.[4] After the rains, he (Abhay Singh) was asked by *Wazir* Qamar-ud-din Khan to return to his post in Gujrat but he did not like to leave the Bikaner engagement in the lurch and go there.[5] However, early in 1734 he concluded a peace with the Bikaner Raja and was free to proceed either towards Ajmer or Ahmadabad, where the Maratha threat had increased [6] For this he asked his agent at Delhi to get clear instructions from the *Wazir* about his movements [7] The *vakil* was asked to request the *Wazir* to confer upon him the governorship of Ajmer and send rupees 25 lacs to maintain a strong army for the defence purposes [8] On this condition, he was prepared to send

1 Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol ii pp 162-163
Marwar Khyat Vol ii pp 141-142

2 Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol ii pp 163 168 and pp 177-236 (*Details* of Ratan Singh's activities)

3 Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol ii pp 193-236,
Marwar-ki-Khyat Vol ii p 146

4 Dayal Das-Khyat Vol ii Leaf 61
Marwar Khyat Vol ii p 146

5. A letter from Abhay Singh to Amar Singh Bhandari dated 7th day of the bright-half of Margasirsha vs 1790/30th Nov 1733 Jd

6 A letter from Abhay Singh to Amar Singh Bhandari dated 10th day of the bright-half of Phalguna vs. 1790/3rd March 1734 Jd

7 Ibid

8 Ibid

10,000 cavalry immediately towards Ahmadabad.[1] In the meantime he received communication from Jay Singh, who requested his aid to push back the Maratha penetration in his dominions.[2] The Maratha danger was also becoming a menace in Bundi because Malhar Rao and Ranoji Sindia had visited it on March 24, 1734 in connection over the question of the Bundi succession to the throne.[3]

To check the Maratha penetration in Rajasthan, Jay Singh convened a conference of all the rulers of the various states of Rajasthan in July, 1734, at Hurda. Abhay Singh, along with his brother Bakht Singh, attended it. The other rulers, who participated, were from Mewar, Kishangarh, Bikaner, Kota and Karauli. They came to an agreement on July 13, 1734, according to which they pledged to honour the following :

1. All shall remain united in all circumstances, good or bad, with a pledge to abide by the terms.
2. No one shall countenance the traitor of another.
3. After the rains, the affairs shall commence and the chief of all parties shall assemble at Rampura; and if for any cause the head cannot come, he shall send his heir or some personage of weight.
4. Should from in experience such heir commit any eror, the Rana alone shall interfere to correct it.
5. In every enterprise all shall unite to effect it.[4]

1, Ibid.
2, Ibid.
3. Vamsh-Bhaskar Vol. iv. pp. 3126-3127;
vs 1790-1791, Basta No. 47 Bhandar No. 1 Kota Rec.
4, Tod : Vol. I pp; 482-483 ff. ;
Vamsh Bhaskar Vol. iv pp. 3227-3228;

The decisions arrived at in Hurda were communicated to the *Wazir* and the *Bakhshi*, who assured the Princes, of the Imperial support and they also began preparations to keep the Marathas beyond the Narbada[1] Immediately after the rains the Marathas renewed their activities[2] To check their progress in northern India, two armies seperately under *Wazir* Qmar-ud-din Khan and *Bakhshi* Khan-i-Dauran left the capital in November, 1734 The *Bakhshi* went towards the side of Rajasthan, where he was joined by Jay Singh, Abhay Singh and Durjansal of Kota with their contingents The army swelled to 50,000 strong[3] Early in February 1735, the united army reached Rampura, where Holkar and Sindia were sighted Malhar and Ranoji adopted their usual tactics to stop provisions reaching the large army For eight days the Rajputs and the

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Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali pp 269-270 vv 39-41,
Marwar-Khyat Vol ii pp 142-143
Veer Vinod Vol ii pp 1218-1221
Hurda is 25 54'N 74 42'E, about 3 miles from Barl station on Chittor-Ajmer line of Western Railway (Meter Gauge)
I have accepted the date of agreement as given in Veer Vinod Vamsh Bhaskar mentions it in the bright-half of Karttika (October), Tod mentions it as 13th day of the bright-half of Srawana (August 1st), Marwar-Khyat mentions the year only n t the month and day A reference to assemble after rains indicates that the conference was held just before the rains In Rajasthan, the rains generally start from the middle of July. Tod's reference to the bright-half instead of the dark-half may be a slip Hence the date given by the author of Veer Vinod is the likely date

1 Seir I pp. 268, 285
Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii p 143

2 S P D XXX pp 312-318

3 S P D. Xiv 23 The Maratha vakil at Dhar Naro Sheo Deo estimated it to be 2 00 000 horse and innumerable foot
Marwar-Khyat (Vol ii p 144) supports it But it is exaggerated The number given in Aituhasik Charitra (letter 68), which is 50 000 seems more probable.
Seir I p 286.

Bakhshi were harassed by the two commanders. Then abandoning the blockade, they passed the rear of the Mughal army, crossed the Mukandara pass, and by way of Bundi entered the defenceless territory of Jaipur.[1] Sambhar was looted by them on February 28, yielding a rich harvest.[2] Finding the united front of the Princes of Rajasthan and the Mughals fruitless,[3] Jay Singh and Khan-i-Dauran opened negotiations with the Marathas and agreed to pay 22 lacs of rupees annually to them as the *chauth* of Malwa.[4]

(G) Abhay Singh and anti-Maratha Junta in the Mughal Court.

The policy of appeasement followed by Jay Singh and Khan-i-Dauran was not liked by Abhay Singh. He, therefore, repaired to Delhi with a view to join hands with the party in the Mughal court, led by *Wazir* Qamar-ud-din Khan, which was in favour of active action against the Marathas.[5] But

1. S.P.D. Xiv 21, 23;
Seir. I p. 286.;
Vamsh Bhaskar Vol. iv p. 3227.
2 S.P.D. Xiv 21, 23;
Seir. I p. 268.
Sambhar is 26°55'N 75°11'E, about 53 miles N. E. of Ajmer. It is famous for its salt lake.
3. The germs of disunity among the signatories of Hurda conference began soon after the conference was over. Jay Singh demanded Ranthambore from the Emperor as the price to fight Marathas. There upon Abhay Singh put forward his case for Garh Bitli (Taragarh of Ajmer). The Emperor did not agree to these proposals; Thus dissension grew up between Jay Singh and Abhay Singh.
(Rathore Daneshwar Vamshavali p. 270 vv. 42-44)
4. S.P.D. Xiv 23, 27; XXii 284; Hingane Dafter. 1. 2. Rustam Ali; Tarikh-i-Hind (Elliot and Dowson Vol. viii pp. 50-51).
5. S.P.D. xv 89, 91; Seir I p. 286;
Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii p. 144;
Parties and Politics at the Mughal court p. 223.

Abhay Singh and the *Wazir* were not on good terms. The Emperor was keen to take effective measures against the Marathas so he got the two reconciled. A plan of action was chalked out. The Emperor himself proposed to take the field against the Marathas. It was decided that the *Wazir*, Abhay Singh and Saadat Khan were to march by way of Gwalior, while Jay Singh and Khan-i-Dauran were to be sent to the Deccan by way of Jaipur.[1] Jay Singh was obviously of the opinion that it was not possible to fight the Marathas successfully and that a policy of reconciliation with them was the only feasible one, but his opinions were not heeded to.[2] He (Jay-Singh) rather took it as his personal insult when he was ordered that if he did not join, his country would be plundered and his disloyalty punished.[3] Thereupon he invited the Peshwa to Northern India, offering to bear his expenses and to secure for him the *chauth* of Malwa also.[4] Baji Rao left the Deccan in October, 1735 and he met Jay Singh at Bhamolao on March 14, 1736, where he remained with him for several days.[5] On the advice of Jay Singh, Baji Rao asked Malhar Rao, Ranoji Sindia, Kanthaji and Anand Rao Panwar to invade Marwar and lay it waste.[6] However, Baji Rao had his own quarrel with Abhay Singh who promised in 1735 to relieve him of his debts but did not excute it.[7]

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1 S.P.D. Xiv 39

2 S.P.D. xv 89, 91. ;
Parties and Politics at the Mughal court p. 223. No Mughal campaign was taken in 1735-1736 (Ibid. p. 230.)

3 S.P.D. Xiv 39
He was also enraged because of the proposals of taking away Agra Malwa from him and bestowing them on the Wazir.

4. S.P.D. Xiv 47, 51

5 S.P.D. XXX pp. 322-324

6. S.P.D. Xiii 49.
Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii p. 145.

7. S.P.D. XXIX 39.

Malhar Rao and Ranoji, along with Raja Partap Singh Hada of Bundi,[1] passing through Shahpura[2] reached Merta. Abhay Singh, who was at Delhi at that time, instructed his general Bhandari Bijay Raj to be prepared to face the Maratha incursion in Marwar. The Rathore force assembled at Merta. Their strength increased when Umed Singh Sisodia of Shahpura joined them with 4,000 soldiers. Before the commencement of the battle, Holkar and Sindia sent Partap Singh Hada to negotiate for the payment of the ransom. But Bhandari and Umed Singh, acting on the advice of Abhay Singh. did not agree to pay it. Thereupon, Holkar occupied the town and laid the siege to the fort. The Marathas dug trenches and under its guard they made a push towards the walls of the fort. The Rathors regularly operated their artillery from the fort and made the advance of the enemy difficult by causing heavy casualties. At one time it seemed that the Marathas would flee but the heavy exchange of fire, which continued for two months exhusted the Rathor defence. Bhandari surrendered in the beginning of April, 1736 and agreed to pay the ransom. After the completion of the conquest of Merta, Holkar and Sindia forced Bakht Singh of Nagor to pay the tribute. Then they marched towards Ajmer and rejoined the Peshwa by the end of April.[3]

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1. Pratap Singh Hada was in alliance with Holkar since 1734, when he secured his help as the representative of Budha Singh, against his brother Dalel Singh of Bundi for the throne.
2. Shahpura is 25°38'N 74°56'E, about 60 miles S.S.E. of Ajmer.
3. S.P.D. Xiv 14. (The correct date of the letter is April 1, 1736); Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol. ii pp. 192-193. It mentions that Malbar Rao and Kanthaji went to Marwar via Bhinmal in 1736; Tarikh-i-Hind (Elliot and Dowson Vol. Viii p. 52) Marwar-Khyat Vol ii pp. 145-146, It relates that Holkar and Sindia entered into Marwar from Gujrat side, with 50,000 horse, looted Jalor, Sojat, Bilara and marched towords Merta. One of the groups invaded Jodhpur upto Ratanada, a suburb of Jodhpur.

As promised at Bhambolao earlier, Jay Singh failed in his attempt to persuade the Emperor to confer on Baji Rao the right of *chauth* of Malwa[1] At the same time Baji Rao received the information from his agent, Baji Bhiv Rao that the clique of Qamar-ud-din Khan, Roshan-ud-Daula, Saadat Khan and Abhay Singh was working against him and as such there was no hope that the cause of the Peshwa would have any fair prospects at the Mughal court[2] Hence, Baji Rao decided that unless the Anti-Peshwa clique was defeated or throughly cowed down, it was not possible for him to secure the Emperor's recognition of the Maratha conquest of Malwa and its neigbouring areas. In order to press his point he resolved to raid *Duab* and left the Deccan on November 12, 1736.[3]

At Delhi, grand preparations were made to meet the Marathas Large armies were equipped and put into the field under the command of the *Wazir* and *Mir Bakhshi*. Imperial *farmans* were sent out calling other Mughals chiefs and Rajput Princes to join the defence of the capital with their contingents. Abhay Singh, who was at Mozabad was asked to join them at Agra. The combined army was then to proceed against the Marathas[4]

Abhay Singh remained in the vicinity of the capital with his ten to fifteen thousand Rathors[5] Though the Peshwa appeared in Delhi on March 24, 1737 and in his habitual

1 S P D. Xiv 54.

2 Ibid Xv 89, 91.

3 S.P D xxii 341. Vamsh Bhaskar Vol. iv p. 240.; Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court pp. 230-231.

4 S P.D. XXX 197, Xv 17, 18; Seir I pp. 291-292.

5 S.P.D. Xv 18.

manner conducted the operations for three days and then retreated, yet nothing substantive came out of it.[1] When the threat was over, Abhay Singh left Delhi in April with the Imperial permission for his native land.[2]

After the battle of Bhopal in December, 1737, the Peshwa continued raiding the states of Rajashan.[3] Imperial *farmans* were sent again to the Rajput rulers to join the Emperor.[4] But we do not hear any active opposition of Abhay Singh against the Marathas during the period 1737 to 1742. The visit of Peshwa to Delhi could not directly harm Abhay Singh. But his partisan Jay Singh, who was already prejudicial to Abhay Singh, took interest in the internal disturbance caused by the revolt of Bakht Singh at Nagor in October, 1740.[5] Finding it a favourable opportunity, he invited the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao at Dholpur in May 1741, with a view to enter into an agreement of helping each other against the mutual enemies.[6] Abhay Singh took a hint out of it and made an amicable settlement with his brother in May,[7] so that Jay Singh might not have any chance to interfere. But Jay-Singh, who was bent upon humiliating Abhay Singh supported another brother of the Rathor ruler, Ratan Singh who was in

1. S.P.D. Xv, 17, 37; XXX 198, 200
Seir I. p: 291.
2. S.P.D. Xv 30.
On April 5, Abhay Singh was at Jodhpur (Baji Rao's letter to Chimnaji Appa from Jaipur dated 5th April 1737).
3. S.P.D. Xv 68, 69.
4. Ibid. 53.
5. S.P,D. (New Series) Vol. I. 59.
6. S.P.D. XXi 2.
7. S.P,D. (New Series) Vol. I 59.

prison.[1] He recognised him as the ruler of Jodhpur [2] To secure the aim he started with an army Bakht Singh and Abhay Singh met him at Gangwana[3] and a severe battle followed on May 28, 1741 [4] Jay Singh failed in his mission to enthrone Ratan Singh at Jodhpur for he concluded peace with Abhay Singh in January, 1742, and promised not to interfere in his matters.[5]

Since the conclusion of war at Merta in 1736, the Rathors had agreed to pay the tribute to the Marathas. It appears from a letter of Holkar and Sindia to the Peshwa dated March 13, 1742, that the payment was not regular. The Peshwa sent Malhar Rao and Ranoji Sindia to collect the tribute in March, 1742, but the prospects were not hopeful. Holkar came across difficulties in realising the tribute and raising money from the people of the districts of Sojat, Raipur and Jaitaran. They could collect a poor amount-rupees 100 to 200 only The public at large resisted the Marathas. They preferred to quit their huts and lit fire to it rather than to make any payment Even Abhay Singh evaded the payment of the tribute. Therefore Holkar suggested to the Peshwa that a strong measure should be taken before the rains set in and some methods should be adopted so that a fair collection might be made, which was due out of that area.[6]

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1 Marwar-Khyat Vol ii pp 155-156

2 Ibid.

3 Gangawana is 11 miles N. E of Pushkar.

4 Rathore Daneshwar Vamshavali p 283 vv. 116

5 A Kharita from Abhay Singh to Jay Singh dated 2nd day of the bright-half of Magha vs 1798/30th January 1742 (KS) Jp.

6 S P D XXvii 2 (The correct date of the letter is 13th March 1742) Raipur is 26 3'N 74 2'E about 2 miles N of Haripur station on Ajmer-Ahmadabad branch of Western Railway (Meter gauge)

(H) Abhay Singh–Holkar Alliance 1748 A. D.

Soon after this, the relations between Abhay Singh and Bakht Singh deteriorated[1] and once again Marwar was endangered with the consequences of civil war. Bakht Singh gained his strength with the accession of the new Emperor, Ahmad Shah in April, 1748, who bestowed on him the governorship of Gujrat and Ajmer.[2] He was also given the territory of Sambhar, Didwana and Narnaul.[3] On his return from Delhi the same year, Bakht Singh occupied Sambhar.[4] It annoyed Abhay Singh. The return to arms became inevitable, when Bakht Singh sent his son to Bikaner to secure the help of Maharaja Gaj Singh.[5] Abhay Singh lost no time in engaging Holkar in lieu of rupees 11,000 per day for subduing the rebellious brother.[6] For securing this help Manroop Chand Bhandari was sent to Bundi,[7] where Holkar was staying at that time. Holkar proceeded towards Sambhar, where Bakht Singh had pitched his tents.[8]

1. Bakht Singh left his brother Abhay Singh during the Ajmer compaign of 1743-1744 (Marwar-Khyat. Vol. ii p. 157). In the Bikaner succession issue, both the brothers supported the rival claimants in 1746-1747 (Dayal Das-Khyat Vol. ii Leafs 69-72);
S.P.D. Vol. ii. 1.

2. Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol. ii pp. 376-377;
Hingane Dafter I. 32;
Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii p. 160;

3. Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii. pp. 160.
Didwana is 27'24'N 74'35'E; about 130 miles N.E. of Jodhpur. Narnaul is in Patiala district of Punjab.

4. Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii. p. 160.

5. Dayal Das-Khyat Vol. ii. Leafs 71-72;
Marwar-Khyat Vol ii. p. 160.

6. Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii p. 160.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

Soon receiving the information that Jaipur affairs[1] required his immediate presence there he brought about reconciliation between the brothers[2] Abhay Singh sent a Rat' or force under Manroop Chand Bhandari along with Holkar who had proceeded against Ishwari Singh[3] The latter was defeated at Bagru by the combined forces in August 1748[4] After the victory Holkar came to Pushkar and met Abhay Singh there[5] Both exchanged turbans dined on the same table[6] and thus developed aclose relationship Since then cordial relations remained between the successive rulers of Marwar and the family of Holkar as subsequent history depicts

Abhay Singh did not live long but his last days were trouble-some. Though Bakht Singh was reconciled[7] he remained dissatisfied The Maharaja had no hopes from his son, Ram

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0 The Jaipur affairs referred above related to the internal conflict arising after the death of Jay Singh at Jaipur in September 1743 The promise of Ishwari Singh to give half of his state to his younger brother Madho Singh in May 1748 in the presence of the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao at Newai was not kept by him This necessiated Holkar on behalf of the Peshwa to take up the cause of Madho Singh and force Ishwari Singh to abide by the promise

1 Dayal Das-Khyat Vol ii Leafs 71-72,
Marwar Khyat Vol ii p 160

2 Vamsh Bhaskar Vol iv pp 2483 3527
Marwar-Khyat Vol ii p 159

3 S P D Vol ii p 159
Marwar Khyat Vol ii 1

4 Vamsh-Bhaskar Vol iv pp 3534-3543
Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii p 159-160

5 Ibid
Abhay Singh and Malhar Rao had developed brotherly relations is clearly accepted in the traditions as reported by Krishnaji Jagannath the Maratha representative in the court of Bijay Singh (Jy 5)

6 The two brothers last met on Dec 26 1748,
Hingane Dafter I 32

Singh, who was immature in his decisions, to keep the reputation of the Rathors.[1] However, he had secured the moral support of Malhar Rao for the unkeep of the family. He expired after a long illness at Ajmer on June 19, 1749.[2]

1. Vamsh Bhaskar Vol. iv pp, 3583-3584.
2. Marwar-Khyat Vol, ii p. 161.

CHAPTER III

The Civil War in Marwar between Ram Singh and Bakht Singh (1749-1752 A.D.) and Maratha Intervention

(A) Rivalry between Ram Singh and Bakht Singh

Bakht Singh became formidable early in 1748 by acquiring the governorship of Gujrat and Ajmer from the Emperor on the promise to expel the Marathas from Gujrat [1] Immediately after this, he clamoured for the throne of Marwar and for that he took recourse to rebellion against the authority of his brother. But he could not succeed due to the help which Abhay Singh received from Malhar Rao Holkar in 1748 as referred to in the previous chapter With the accession of Ram Singh, his nephew, to the throne of Marwar on July 13, 1749[2] Bakht Singh's ambitions found a fresh impetus.

The new ruler was ninteen when he came to the throne.[3] Abhay Singh himself doubted the ability of his son to administer the state as he was reckless, insolent, vicious, dissipated and

1 Mirat-i-Ahmadi Vol ii pp 376-377,
Hingane Dafter I 132

2 Abhay Singh died at Ajmer on June 19, 1749 Ram Singh succeeded him and was coronated in the fort of Jodhpur on July 13 1748 (Marwar Khyat Vol ii p 163)

3 He was born on July 28, 1730.
(Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii p 163)

perfidious. For such a weak ruler a territory, torn by jealosy and ambition of his uncle, was difficult to administer. The prolonged war with the Maratha at one time, with the ruler of Bikaner at another time and with Sawai Jay Singh at all times had squandered away all that peaceful economy had accumulated and led Marwar to the edge of financial ruin [1] It had enhanced the importance of the feudal order and led to the growth of mutual rivalry and feuds among them. Though Ram Singh's 'undestanding was excellent and well cultivated yet his capricious temperament, to which he gave vent with an unbriddled vehemence, disgusted the high-minded nobles of Marwar.'

(B) Rathors Divided into two Camps

Abhay Singh had secured the moral support of Holkar, for his family.) The new Maharaja ascended the throne with Malhar Rao recognising him as the rightful claimant for the leadership of the Rathors. He had sent a *Tika* and an elephant at the time of his coronation.[2] Bakht Singh refused to acknowledge him as the leader of the Rathors[3] and made preparations for opposing him in league with Gaj Singh of Bikaner.[4]

1. S.P.D XXvii 2.
2. S.P.D. XXvii 40;
   Vamsh Bhaskar Vol. iv. p. 3585;
   Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii p. 164.
3. Bakht Singh, out of courtesey, sent Tika to Ram Singh along with his Dhabai, the foster mother. It was regarded as a sign of revolt by Ram Singh for according to the custom Bakht Singh, being the first in the lineage of Rathor aristocracy after the Maharaja, should have personally attended the coronation ceremony and presented the Tika.;
   Hingane Dafter. II. 8;
   Bijay Vilas 9: 103 vv. 103;
   Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali p. 295. vv. 16.
4. Dayal Das-Khyat Vol. ii Leafs 72, 73;
   Marwar-Khyat Vol ii p. 172.

The die had b en cast dividing the Rathors of Marwar into two armed camps Some of the leading nobles were led by Kushal Singh of Awa, Kani Ram of Asop and the *Thakur* of Khinwasar They were dissatisfied with the behaviour and the bad taste of the Maharaja, which gave patronage to persons of low origin like Amia *Nagarchi*, *Chakhar* Chanda, *Chudigar* Sarfuddin and *Ghasiyara* Khuda Bux [1] They proceeded to join the camp of the chief of the Nagor [2] Bakht Singh, hearing of the coming of the chief nobles on the border of his territory, advanced to welcome them [3] He gave them *jagirs* in his dominion [4] The rest of the nobles like those of Rian, Kuchawan, Alniawas, Bhadrajan etc remained united under the sovereign s standard [5] At the same time, to make his position strong, Ram Singh attempted to take the fort of Jalor from Bakht Singh but he failed to dislodge his uncle from there [6]

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1 Bijay Vilas pp 103-104,
Vamsh Bhaskar Vol iv pp 3625-3626
Marwar-Khyat Vol ii pp 164-165
Awa is 25 37 N 73 39'E about 8 miles S E of Marwar Junction Asop is 26 48 N 73 35'E, about 50 miles N E of Jodhpur Khinwasar is 26 59 N 73 25'E, about 60 miles N. E of Jodhpur

2 S P.D Vol ii 17
Bijay Vilas pp 103-104 vv 103

3 Bijay Vilas pp 101-104 vv 103,
Vamsh Bhaskar Vol iv pp 3625-3626,
Marwar-Khyat Vol ii pp 164-165

4 Marwar Khyat Vol ii pp. 164 165

5 Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali *pp* 299 301 *vv* 38-48
Rian is 25 32 N 74 14 E. about 16 *miles* S E of *Merta* Alniawas is 26 31'N 74 20'E about 20 *miles* S E. *of Merta*
Kuchawan is 27 9 N 74 62'E about 8 miles N of Narayanpura station on Merta-Phulera Railway line
Bhadrajan is 25 36'N 72 '53E, about 50 miles S of Jodhpur.

6. Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali *p* 295 *vv* 16

(C) Rathor-Kachhawaha Rivalry

Efforts were made by both the parties to enlist the outside help. Ram Singh contacted Ishwari Singh of Jaipur in the beginning of 1750.[1] The traditional Rathor-Kachhwaha rivalry had embittered the relations of Jodhpur and Jaipur rulers. Sawai Jay Singh attempted in 1741 to dethrone Abhay Singh and put Ratan Singh on the Jodhpur throne. However, he failed at the battle of Gangwana in May, 1741. Soon after his death in 1743, a civil war among his sons broke out. Abhay Singh supported the cause of Madho Singh in league with Malher Rao Holkar. As such, Ishwari Singh could not remain aloof from what was happening in Marwar. But as he remained preoccupied against the Marathas, he was not able to take advantage of the situation during the revolt of Bakht-Singh against his brother in May, 1748. The battle of Bagru brought a temporary peace to his land but the internal conditions gave rise to confusion and disorder in the state.[2] This pitiable situation forced him to give up the traditional rivalry and enter into amicable relations with Ram Singh. Hence, when he was requested by the Rathor Chief to come to his aid, he readily showed his inclination to support his cause.[3] Bakht Singh sent overtures to Madho Singh for the same purpose.[4]

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1. S.P.D. ii 15, 16., XXi 25.;
   Seir Vol. iii p. 316;
   Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii p. 172.
2. S.P.D. ii 1, 15.
3. S.P.D. XXi 27, 35;
   Seir, iii p. 316;
   Marwar Khyat Vol. ii pp. 168-169. It mentions that Ishwari Singh gave his daughter to Ram Singh in marriage.
4. *A Kharita (draft) from Madho Singh to Bakht Singh dated 11th day of* the bright-half of Karttika vs. 1806/9th November 1749. Jp.
   Madho Singh was at Nenva (SPD ii 13).

Maho Singh naturally came to his side as he was a rival candidate against Ishwari Singh. He assured Bakht Singh of his cooperation in task.[1] Besides it, Bakht Singh also secured the support from the Imperial court for which he had to promise help to the Emperor to defend the provinces of Agra and Ajmer from the Maratha inroads.[2]

(D) Maratha help sought by both the Parties.

With the assurance of help from the Rajput Princes to both the claimants. there came up the question of securing the Maratha alliance. Madho Singh had already informed Bakht Singh on November 9, 1749, that he would come with an army of Udaipur and would also try to secure five to six thousand horse from Holkar.[3] Ram Singh, on his part, requested Ishwari Singh to bring the Maratha help.[4] Ishwari Singh sent his minister, Kesho Rai, son of Rai Mal, to Shahu and the Peshwa.[5] A small force of 1,500 was spared by the Peshwa,[6] for Ram Singh against Bakht Singh. Holkar, too, sent a force to Ram Singh under his son [7]

The support by the Imperial court was whole hearted. The Bakhshi Salabat Khan reached Narnaul, where Bakht Singh

1. Ibid
2. Seir : Vol. iii p. 311.
3. A Kharita (draft) from Madho Singh to Bakht Singh dated 11th day of the bright-half of Karttika vs 1806/9th November 1749 Jp.
4. S.P.D. XXi 25;
   Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii p. 172.
5. S.P.D. XXi 25.
6. Ibid.
   Marwar-Khyat Vol ii. p. 172.
7. Seir Vol iii p. 317. Probably the son wa no other than Khande Rao.

joined him. Then the two by a forced march arrived at Ajmer. From there, proceeding through Merta, they moved towards Pipar, where they halted five miles east of the town. In the meantime Ram Singh, Ishwari Singh and their Maratha allies totalling 30,000 and a numerous artillery, marching from Jodhpur, arrived at Pipar on April 4, 1750. The scarcity of water and the scroching heat of Marwar were not favourable for any active action. Both the parties waited for some time till Salabat Khan opened negotiations with Ram Singh through Ishwari Singh. Attempts to agreement continued for ten days without any results. Ultimately the parties took recourse to war on April 14 with no conclusive results. In the meantime the situation took a new turn. Many of the allies of Ram Singh, particularly the Marathas remained aloof and then began to desert him. His vassals also changed sides. As such Ram Singh had no course open for him, but to come to terms with the Mughal general. Peace was signed on April 16. As agreed, Ram Singh paid rupees three lacs in cash and promised to pay four lacs more by instalments to Salabat Khan as a tribute to the Mughal Emperor. Bakht Singh did not get anything.[1]

Bakht Singh did not like this settlement. Hence he left Pipar in anger for Nagor[2] in order to make fresh preparations for measuring sword against the forces of Ram Singh. As soon as Marwar was cleared of the foreign troops, he attacked Ram Singh and a battle ensued on November 27. 1750, between

1. S.P.D. ii'16; XXi 25, 27, 35;
Seir : Vol. iii pp. 315-318;
Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii pp. 171-172.
Pipar is 26'23'N 73'33'E, about 32 miles E. of Jodhpur. The halting place of Salabat Khan was probably the village of Raona, which is 7 miles east of Pipar.

2. Seir Vol. iii p. 318;

the uncle and the nephew near Luniawas [1] Ram Singh was forced to retreat to his Capital [2]

After the battle Bakht Singh got favourable circumstances to achieve his aim, Ishwari Singh committed suicide on December 12, 1750[3] Madho Singh rushed towards Jaipur under the armed escort of Malhar Rao Holkar in the last week of December[4] and became the ruler Hereafter, Bakht Singh continued reminding Madho Singh for the Maratha (Holkar) help against Ram Singh[5] Further he informed him that as he had sent requests to Malhar Rao, who was at Jaipur, to come to his aid, he wished that the ruler of Jaipur, being his ally, would use all his efforts to get his mission fulfilled and try to thwart all attempts of Ram Singh to gain the support of Holkar [6] He communiacated to Madho Singh to keep in his view that Malhar Rao's intention was to bringh reconciliation between him and Ram Singh, which he (Bakht Singh) did not like [7] He also suggested to the Kachhwaha ruler that his efforts should be in a way that even if Holkar was not willing to

1 S.P D ii 15
Vamsh Bhaskar Vol iv pp 3626-3630
Dayal Das-Khyat Vol ii Leafs 74-75 It relates that the battle was faught near Dudasar Tank on Nov 11 1750 Luniawas is 11 miles S.S W of Merta

2 Dayal Das-Khyat Vol ii Leaf 75

3 S P.D ii 31;
Seir, iii p 325

4 S P.D ii 31

5 A Parwana from Bakht Singh to Prem Singh Gogawat dated 9th day of bright-half of Pausha vs 1807/26th Dec 1750 Jp

6 A Kharita from Bakht Singh to Madho Singh dated 11th day of the bright-half of Pausha vs 1807 (year is not given but by the contents it is calculated so)/28th Dec 1750 Jp

7 Ibid

come to his aid he should remain netural [1]. Ram Singh, too, was not slow to approach Malhar Rao Holkar. Relying on family friendship he sent his men to bring his support.[2] Holkar was on the horns of a dilemma. He had friendly relations with Ram Singh. Though he found nothing substantial in the claim of Bakht Singh, yet it was being pressed by his (Holkar's) friend, Madho Singh.[3] Accordingly he chose to remain neutral and on the pretext of attending to urgent and more important call from *Wazir* Safdar Jang[4], left Jaipur in the first week of February, 1751 and proceeded to Mathura.[5] Taking advantage of the neutrality of Holkar, Bakht Singh defeated Ram Singh at Merta, marched on Jodhpur and occupied it on June 21, 1751.[6]

It was unfortunate for Ram Siugh that the civil war broke out at an importune moment. Holkar's attention was divided towards the various problems of Jaipur and India. During the period from September, 1750, to February, 1751, he was busy in the affairs of Jaipur where Ishwari Singh

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. A Kharita (draft) from Madho Slngh to Bakht Singh dated 15th day of bright-half of Pausha vs. 1807/31st Dec. 1750 Jp.
4. S P.D XXvii 64, 65.
5. Ibid.;
   A Kharita (draft) from Madho Singh to Ram Singh dated 12th day of the dark-half of Phalguna vs. 1807/12th Feb. 1751: Jp.
6. A Kharita (draft) from Madho Singh to Holkar dated 1st day of the dark-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1808/28th July 1751. Jp.
   Hingane D after I 59.
   'A letter from a Maratha agent at Jaipur in 1751 A.D.'
   I.H.R.C. (1944) pp. 10-12;
   Dayal Das-Khyat Vol. ii Leaf 75;
   Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii p. 178.



Bakht Singh, Jodhpur

flouted the Maratha interference in his state[1] and after his death, Madho Singh picked a quarrel with the Marathas by massacring Deccani soldiers in his capital.[2] Soonafter, the affairs of *Wazir* Safdar Jang in Ruhilkhand drew his attention.[3] Ram Singh did not impress Holkar much. The behaviour of the young Rathor ruler towards the agents of Holkar at the time of his coronation was insulting to a family friend.[4] His reckless administration, which brought desertions of chief nobles, was sufficient to make his position weak in the eyes of Holkar. However, he did not want to break away completely from Ram Singh because of the family relationship with his father Abhay Singh. Hence he sent half-heartedly a force[5] to side him at the battle of Pipar in 1749, against his uncle, Bakht Singh, but later on he became neutral. His neutrality was a decisive factor in deciding the fate of Ram Singh. Bakht Singh won because he could secure the support of the chief nobles of Marwar as well as of the Imperial court,[6] little caring whether any Maratha leader came to his aid.

(E) Ram Singh seeks Maratha help against Bakht Singh.

The seizure of power at Jodhpur by Bakht Singh was not taken as a decisive factor by Ram Singh who immediately

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1 S.P.D. ii 19, 31; XI 34

2 S P D XXvii 64, 65.

3 Ibid, XXi 38, 40; XXvii 64, [illegible]

4 Vamsh Bhaskar Vol. iv p. [illegible]
Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii p. [illegible]

5 Seir Vol. iii p. 318. [illegible]
in the midst of the [illegible]

6 'A letter from the [illegible]
I.H.R.C. (1944) pp. [illegible]

after the loss of realm, proceeded to Marot from where he sent his own men under Purohit Jagan Nath to Madho Singh to secure his aid.[1] Bakht Singh also sent his envoy Barhat Karnidan to Jaipur with the same purpose.[2] Both waited on the ruler of Jaipur. The reaction of Madho Singh has been graphically recorded in a letter by Govind Tamaji, the Maratha agent there, and conveyed to Bapuji Mahadev Hingane in July, 1751.[3] He mentions that on receiving Purohit Jagan Nath at Jaipur, Madho Singh was in a fix. The prospects of Bakht Singh's complete triumph over Ram Singh were highly disturbing to him in view of the aggressive policy, which Bakht Singh was sure to adopt hereafter on his success. Equally discouraging was the prospect of Ram Singh's avoiding an action, and taking refuge with Holkar, as that was sure to weaken his (Madho Singh's) prestige.[4] Madho Singh therefore decided to help Ram Singh against Bakht Singh.[5]

The letter further gives the details that Madho Singh was not personally in a position to provide help either in men or money, hence he directed Purohit Jagan Nath along with chief nobles to contact Holkar and Sindia[6] The Purohit was empowered to pay any sum that would furnish him with a force of 10,000 men for a month or two[7], *Govind Tamaji*

1. A Kharita (draft) from Madho Singh to Holkar dated 1st day of the dark-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1808/28th July 1751. Jp.
Marot is 27·6'N 75·6 E, about 13 miles N.W. of Sambhar.
2. Ibid.
3. 'A letter of the Maratha agent at Jaipur 1751 A. D.'
I. H. R. C. (1944) pp. 10-12.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Ibid.

suggested to Hingane that a war between Ram Singh and Bakht Singh would last for a year at least, hence it could bring a crore of rupees[1] Hingane asked Holkar and Sindia to comply with the request of the agents of Ram Singh.[2]

Malhar Rao did not help the cause of Ram Singh as he was secretly purchased over by Raj Singh Chohan, the agent of Bakht Singh, on a promise to pay him rupees two lacs.[3] In the meantime Purohit Jagan Nath appealed to Holkar, in the name of Abhay Singh to stand by his master's side. Holkar tried to put him off by the excuse that he would have to get the permission from the Peshwa[4] However, on much insistence from the Purohit, he asked the envoy to meet Jayppa Sindia in that connection.[5] The envoys remained for two months with Holkar and Jayppa.[6] Sindia agreed to the proposal and assured the Rathor delegation that as soon as he was free from the affairs of the Afihgans, he would come to the aid of Ram Singh.[2] Jagan Nath paid to Sindia two months advance for a force of ten to twelve thousand.[8]

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1 Ibid

2 H S I S Vol I 143

3 Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali p 366. vv. 413

4 Ibid vv. 415-417;
Hingane Dafter Vo I 59

5 Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali p 366 vv. 414;
Hingane Dafter Vol I 59
Vamsh Bhaskar Vol iv pp 3630-3631.

6 Hingane Dafter Vol. I 59

7 Ibid,
Marwar Khyat ii p 183
Throughout 1751 and the first four months of 1752, the Maratha forces in Northern India were entangled in Safdar Jang's war with the Afgans and no troops could be spared for Rajputana

8 Hingane Dafter Vol I. 59

Though the affairs were over in April, 1752, yet imr diately on a call from the Peshwa to repair to the South w: Ghazi-ud-din, the new *Subahdar* of the Deccan, Holkar ar Sindia proceeded towards Poona on May 14.[1] But on the wa by the end of May, Jayappa separated from Malhar Rao w a body of 5,000 horse and attacked Ajmer and occupied i But as he had to proceed to Poona, he did not remain for long at Ajmer. He left the affairs of Ram Singh to his general, Sahiba Patel.[3]

Getting intimation of the Maratha advance towards hi frontiers and of occupying Ajmer, Bakht Singh left Jodhpur in June 1752 with his 'full tribal levy' to meet the invaders.[4] At Ladpura, he was joined by Gaj Singh of Bikaner.[5] Both of them marched towards Pushkar, where Bakht Singh organised a strong defence of his territory.[6] In the meantime, Sahiba Patel, escorted by the envoys of Ram Singh went to Marot and brought him to Ajmer.[7] Bakht Singh struck his first blow

1. Aithihasik Patren. 102;
   S.P.D. xxi 40.
2. Marwar Khyat mentions that Jayappa's army was 10,000 in number (ii p. 184)
3. A letter from Shankar Datta to Dewan Sada Shiva dated 2nd day of the dark-half of Sravana vs. 1809/July 17, 1752. Jp;
   Marwar Khyat ii p. 184.
   Tod wrongly refer the name af Mahadaji, instead of Sahiba Patel.
4. Bijay Vilas 9: 107 vv. 16-17
   Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali p. 368 vv. 424.
5. Marwar-Khyat Vol: ii p. 184-185.
   Ladpura is on the border of Marwar-Ajmer, about 8 miles E. of Alniawas:
6. Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii. pp. 184-185.
   Pushkar is 26'29'N 74'33'E; about 8 miles N.W. of Ajmer. It is famous for its temples and lake.
7. A letter from Shankar Datta to Dewaa Sadashiva dated 2nd day of the dark-half of Sarvana vs. 1809/17th July 1752. Jp.

72°
74°
BIKANER
N
MAROTH
SAMBHAR
JAISALMER
MARWAR UNDER BAKAT SINGH
LUNAWAS
MERTA
LASSURA
PUSHKAR
AJMER
JODHPUR
PIPAR
AJMER
26°
THAR DESERT
MARWAR UNDER RAM SINGH
SINDH
GHATA
UDAIPUR
SIROHI
RANN OF CUTCH
THARAD
PALANPUR

MAP OF MARWAR

MARWAR AFTER THE BATTLE OF AJMER
MAY 1752 A.D

72°
74°

MAP No 5

72°
74°
BIKANER
N
NAGAUR
KUCHAWAN
MAROTH
SAMBHAR
JAISALMER
MERTA
AJMER
AJMER
MARWAR UNDER BIJAI SINGH
UMARKOT
SINDH
GODWAR
UDAIPUR
SIROHI
MAP OF MARWAR
THARAD
RANN OF CUTCH
PALANPUR

MARWAR AFTER THE TREATY OF NAGAUR
FEB. 1756 A.D.

72°
74°



against the Marathas in July, using his artillery to disperse the enemy.[1] Ram Singh and the Marathas could not stand the Rathor fury. They lost the battle on July 18, 1752 and fled to Ramsar[2] Later on, Sahiba Patel and his Maratha force left for the Deccan.[3] With this defeat Ram Singh had also to lose his artillery kept at Marot to Bijay Singh.[4] But the *Ghata* area[5] remained under his possession.[6]

Bakht Singh did not remain silent after the victory. He was aware of the fact that the Marathas would again invade Marwar at any time. Hence, he planned to organise another confederacy of the Rajput rulers to keep them (the Marathas) beyond Rajputana.[7] It had a satisfactory response. The Jaipur force of 5,000 under Shankar Datta, stationed at Ajmer, decided to join Bakht Singh.[8] Shahpura ruler Umed Singh, too, sent his representative, Fateh Ram Kayastha to the Rathor

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1 Bijay Vilas p. 106 vv 15.
Rathore Daneshwar Vamshavali p 367 vv. 420

2 A letter from Shankar Datta to Dewan Sadashiva dated 3rd day of the dark-half of Sravana vs. 1809/18th July 1752 Jp
Bijay Vilas p. 108 vv. 21;
Marwar-Khyat Vol ii p. 185.
It mentions that Ram Singh went to Mandsore. Ramsar is 20 miles S.E. of Ajmer.

3. A letter from Shankar Datta to Dewan Sadashiva dated 3rd day of the dark-half of Sravana vs. 1809/18 July 1752. J p.

4 Ibid-dated 12th day of the dark-half of Sravana vs. 1809/26th July 1752 Jp; Vijay Vilas p 110 vv. 1.

5. Ghata area is the southern-eastern part of Marwar, which included a part of Godwad (See map facing p. 103).

6 A letter from Shankar Datta to Dewan Sadashiva dated 12th day of the dark-half of Sravana vs. 1809/26th July 1752 Jp.

7. Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii p. 185.

8. Letters from Shankar Datta to Dewan Sadashiva dated 2nd and 3rd day of the dark-half of Sravana vs 1809/17th and 18th July 1752. Jp

chief for the joint action.[1] Bakht Singh also tapped Madho Singh that they might divide Malwa in between the two after driving the Marathas beyond the Narbada.[2] He also pointed out that the joint action would serve the purpose of Madho Singh to take his revenge upon Holkar while he would get an opportunity to humiliate Sindia.[3] In order to finalise the plan Bakht Singh left Kekri on August 14, 1752.[4] He met Madho Singh at Soneli on September 18.[5] This interview of the rulers of Jodhpur and Jaipur was interpreted by the Maratha agent, Antaji Manekeshwar as the joint plan of Jaipur-Jodhpur to uproot the Maratha ascendancy from north India.[6] But before the whole plan could be finalised, Bakht Singh expired on September 21, 1752, at Soneli.[7]

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1. Ibid-dated 2nd day of the dark-half of Bhadrapada Vs. 1809/15th August 1752. Jp.;
Hadas of Kota, Rao of Sirohi, Sisodias too joined him (Bijay Vilas p. 108. vv. 19-20)
2. Marwar Khyat Vol. ii p 185.
3. Ibid.
4. A letter from Shankar Datta to Sadashiva dated 2nd day of the dark-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1809/15th Aug. 1752. Jp.;
Kekri is 25°25'N 75°13'E, about 60 miles S.E. of Ajmer.
5. Marwar-Khyat Vol ii p. 185.;
Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali p. 372. vv. 448-456.
6. S P.D. XXi 50.
7. Bijay Vilas p. 109 v. 24.;
Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii p. 186. It gives the day of his death on Sept. 21.;
J.N. Sarkar (Fall of the Mughal Empire. Vol. I. p. 179) mentions that Bakht Singh died on Sept. 23, 1752. I have accepted the date given by contemporary Rajput source, i. e. Bijar Vilas. The verse'

सम्वत अठारे से नवे, सुद पख भादव मास ।
तिथ तैरस बखतौ नपृत, बसियो सुरपुर वास ।।

indicates that he died on September 21, 1752.

Bakht Singh had a strenuous career throughout his life. In the first instance he had to take up the task with a mission to remove from the throne of Jodhpur his nephew, Ram Singh, an incapable and inefficient ruler of Marwar. He was successful in that task. In the meantime he also laboured hard to minimise the Maratha interference in his dominions. He never allowed them to exercise their influence in the Jodhpur politics so persistently and actively as they did in Jaipur over the succession issue from 1743 to 1751

CHAPTER IV

Bijay Singh and the Marathas (1752-1793 A. D.)

(A) Rivalry between Ram Singh And Bijay Singh-A Period of Respite.

Bakht Singh had planned to foster a united front of the Rathors, the Kachhwahas, the Jats and the Mughal *Wazir* to eject the Marathas from northern India[1] after his victory over them at Ajmer but before he could achieve any success he died in September, 1752 The task of carrying it out fell on his successor, Bijay Singh. In the beginning of his reign, the new ruler of Jodhpur was fortunate that the political conditions of northern and southern India were such that Marwar could enjoy a period of respite for a year and a half from the inroads of the Marathas The Imperial court witnessed the civil war between the Emperor Ahmad Shah and his *Wazir* Safdar Jang after the murder of Javid Khan, the favourite of the Emperor, on August 27, 1752. The Emperor realised that he was a mere prisoner in the *Wazir's* hands. Ahmad Shah Abdali was quick to discern the situation and sent his agent to Delhi demanding the yearly tribute of rupees fifty lacs. Safdar Jang could hardly manage to send the agent back with some partial payment. Immediately after it he confronted opposition from the Emperor's mother, Udhambai, Intizam-ud-Daula *Mir Bakshi*

1. S.P.D. XXi 50

and Shahab-ud-Din, resulting in an open armed clash between the two parties

Then followed civil war on March 26, 1753, lasting upto November 7. The *Wazir*, realising the dangers, sent urgent calls to the Peshwa for the armed help The Emperor also approached Antaji Mankeshwar, the Maratha commander left at Delhi and the Maratha envoy, Bapuji Mahadev Hingane, to support his cause[1] Both sides made efforts to obtain the active support of Maratha army at Delhi Bapuji Mahadev agreed to place 5,000 Maratha troops at the disposal of the Emperor, in return for which, Ahmad Shah promised to allot the provinces of Oudh and Allahbad to the Peshwa. But Antaji intrigued both with the *Wazir* and the Emperor. In the end Mahadev's iron will prevailed and the Marathas definitely joined the Royal forces, rejecting Safdar Jang's offer of a rich *Jagir* yielding rupees sixteen lacs annually[2] In the meantime the attention of the Peshwa and the other leading Maratha generals was diverted towards the installation of Ghazi-ud-Din on the seat of the Nizam and the conquest of Carnatik[3] Under the circumstances, Bijay Singh had a peaceful coronation on January 31, 1753.[4] His accession was acclaimed by Holkar, who had sent falicitation to him as early as October 9, 1752[5]

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1 Aitihasik Patravyavhar 89.

2 Ait Patren ii 86.

3 S P.D XXvii 68

4 Bijay Vilas p 110 W. I,
Marwar-Khyat iii p 1 At the time of the death of Bakht Singh, Bijay Singh was at Marot, where he ascended the throne as the ruler of Jodhpur His coronation took place in the fort of Jodhpur.

5 A letter from Malhar Rao to Bijay Singh dated 12th day of the bright-half of Asvina vs 1809 Oct 9, 1752. Pl. 29 file 1. Jd

(B) Ram Singh again seeks Maratha help.

The period of respite was a temporary one. The civil war at Delhi necessiated the presence of the Marathas in the North. The Peshwa sent Raghunath Rao in October, 1753, with a specific direction to sit on the fence, watch for the end of the civil strife and then join the victor or take advantage of the exhaution of both the sides so as to increase the Maratha domination over the North.[1] Raghunath Rao, accompanied by Holkar and Sindia, proceeded towards Delhi through Rajasthan, from where he realised the arrears of the tributes from Kota, Bundi and Jaipur. On December 17, Ram Singh met Raghunath Rao through Jayappa for help against his cousin, Bijay Singh. Accordingly a promise for help was made by the Maratha leader. As soon as the affairs of Delhi were over, on June 23, 1754, Raghunath asked Sindia to go to Marwar and restore Ram Singh on the throne of Jodhpur. Jayappa proceeded on his mission via Bundi, where he was entertained by its ruler Umed Singh[2] He was later on joined by his son Jankoji and his brother Dattaji.[3] Sindia also secured armed help from the ruler of Kota.[4]

The Maratha invasion hurried political activity among the leading nobles, officials and Bijay Singh. An emergency meeting was called by the Maharaja in the fort to meet the Maratha danger. The nobles led by Champaot Devi Singh, Calla Uday Singh, Udaot Keshar Singh, Mertia Javan Singh, Sujaot Uday Singh and *Dewan* Fateh Mal offered their volun-

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1. S.P.D. XXvil 104.
2. Siga Dastoori Basta no. 26. vs. 1810/1753 A. D. BR. (Bundi Record) Rs: 2640.10 were spent for his stay.
3. Ibid.
4. S. S. I. S. I 114-115.

tary services for the defence of the motherland. Bijay Singh was moved by the determination of the nobility and he asked Parihar Lalpat to mobilise the army at the earliest[1]

The cause of Jodhpur house was also taken up by Gaj Singh of Bikaner and Bahadur Singh of Kishangarh. They personally led their armies to join their brother at Merta.[2] Madho Singh of Jaipur asked his general Rao Mohan Singh to thwart the march of Sindia through the Jaipur territory[3] Bijay Singh sent 5,000 force to be stationed at Ajmer, to meet the Marathas beyond the frontier of Marwar[4]

The ten thousand Maratha force made headway towards Ajmer. The first Rathor-Maratha skirmish took place at Gangrade near Ajmer. The Rathors could not match the superior strength of the Marathas. They retreated in the interior of the country at Merta with a view to giving a determined opposition to the enemy. Their strength increased with the arrival of the forces from Bikaner and Kishangarh. Jayappa occupied Ajmer without much opposition He stayed for sometime at Pushkar. In the beginning of September, he along with Ram Singh and his twelve to fifteen thousand adherents marched on to Merta. The encounter took place on September 14, on the plains of the city. A heavy play of artillery and attacks of cavalry was in action for the whole of the day. The Rathor leaders could not stand the Maratha onslaught. All the three rulers of the Rathor clan, Bijay Singh, Gaj Singh and Bahadur Singh fled, leaving

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1 Bijay Vilas pp 122-129.

2 Marwar Khyat iii pp. 1-2.

3 A letter from Madho Singh to Mohan Singh dated nil vs. 1811/1754 (KS) Jp.

4 S P.D. XXvii 68.

Jayappa and Ram Singh to enter the city of Merta in triumph on September 17. and loot it for three hours.[1]

Ram Singh had won the first round of the succession war. Bijay Singh, though defeated, did not surrender. He fell back in the strong-hold of Nagor and began to reinforce himself. The finances to meet the exigencies were arranged with the *Bohras* of Gudla and Nandwana.[2] Jayappa pursued him and invested the fort on October 31.[3]

The Maratha leader cut off all means of communications and supply of provisions to Nagor.[4] Maratha-Ram Singh forces were stationed at Indanas in between Nagor and Jodhpur in order to obstruct any help coming to Bijay Singh from that side.[5] Purohit Jagan Nath accompanied by Jankoji Sindia and Santaji Bavle proceeded to Jodhpur, where they encamped at Abhaysagar and invested the fort with heavy mines.[6] Ajmer fort

1, S.P.D. (New Series) I 177. The date of the battle of Merta is Sept. 14, Marwar-Khyat supports this date (iii-pp. 3-6);
S.P.D. ii 35; xxi 60, XXvii 68, 79, 108.
Ait. Patren ii 122, 124;
S.S.I S. I. pp. 99-124.
Rajwade : I 37, 39.
A letter from Ram Singh to Bhawani Singh of Danta dated 4th day of the bright-half of Ashadha vs. 1810/-June 24, 1754. (published in Varda' Vol iv p. 9)

2. A letter from Bijay Singh to Bohras of Nandwana (Dist. Nagor) dated 14th day of the bright-half of Margasirsha vs. 1811/Nov. 28. 1754; to Bohras of Gudla dated 8th day of the bright-half of Magha vs. 1811/Jan. 5. 1755. A.B. iv pp. 285-286.

3. S.P.D. XXi 67;
Marwar Khyat Vol. iii p 7; Dayal Das Khyat Vol. ii Leaf 79.

4 S.P.D XXi 67.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid; Hingane Dafter I 109;
Mundiyad Khyat (Bijay Singh) p. 46 Basta no. 20. Jd.

was already facing Maratha onslaught and its surrender was imminent in the beginning of 1755.[1] A Maratha force along with the participants of Ram Singh was sent to capture the strong-fort of Jalor, where the treasures of Jodhpur rulers had been kept safely for centuries.[2] The surrender of Bijay Singh and capitulation of Nagor was 'a matter of few days only' as Jayappa wrote to the Peshwa in January, 1755.[3]

The Peshwa had given specific instructions to Jayappa to be followed in Marwar. He did not regard the desert country so profitable to pay off his debts in comparison to the fertile land of the rivers, east of Delhi. Raghunath Rao was already sent to collect money from the rich provinces of Oudh and Allahbad but he required additional numbers to reap the harvest at the time of the accession of Shuja-ud-Daula on the throne of Oudh So the Peshwa wrote to Jayappa to finish the Marwar campaign immediately and proceed to join Raghunath Rao. He advised his general to conclude the Marwar action giving Bijay Singh, his father's portion and to Ram-Singh, his parental dominions or even dividing the Marwar kingdom equally between the two. The Peshwa was not in favour of crushing Bijay Singh altogether, because that would have kept 'the Maratha army engaged in Marwar till eternity.' What he desired was to 'satisfy Ram Singh *some how, by placing* four or five Rathors chieftains under him.' Agreeing to the instructions of the Peshwa to go to Raghunath Rao, Jayappa assured him that he would soon make arrangements

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1. S.P.D. XXvii 105.
2. S.P.D. XXI 60; XXvii 107;
   Hingane Dafter I 109;
   Marwar-Khyat Vol. iii pp. 7-8;
3. S P.D. XXI 67.

at Kashi; Prayag and Gwalior but he would finish the Marw campaign first, which was the matter of a few days only. It was his first independent campaign in Rajputana, which he did not want to leave unaccomplished.[1]

During the first four months of the siege, Jayappa pressed hard for a successful termination of the campaign. The fort of Jalore was captured by a body of Ram Singh's partisans in the beginning of 1755.[2] Ajmer surrendered to the Maratha arms on February 21, 1755 [3] Jodhpur was closely invested by a combined Rathor-Maratha force under Jagan Nath Purohit and Santaji Bable[4] besides Jankoji. In March, Raghunath Rao, having freed himself from the Rohillas and the Pathans of the Duab, reached Pushkar[5] with the intention to go to Nagor through Sambhar.[6] Holkar and Sakha Ram Bapu had also proceeded towards Nagor and stationed themselves at Sambhar.[7] The military pressure on Bijay Singh was highlighted by the draught and heavy cost of life inside the city and fort of Nagor. Out of two big tanks, which were supplying water to the inmates and defenders of the fort, one dried in March, 1755. Men began to quit the city, The prices of the main articles of consumption rose high. Wheat was sold at thirteen seers a rupee; salt at one and a half seers, firewood and grass were totally unobtainable.'[8] The warrior spirit of the defenders slac-

1. S P.D. XXi 67, 69; XXvii 105, 107;
   Ait. Patren 125; 127, 131;
   Rajwade Vol vi 327, 341.
2. S P.D. XXi 69; XXvii 107.
3. S.P.D. XXvii 105.
4. Ibid. 106.
5 Ibid 105
6 Ibid. 107.
7. Ibld.
8. Ibid XXi 69.

cened with the non-availability of opium, the price of which rose to twenty rupees a seer.[1] It led Bijay Singh to talk for the terms of peace to Jayappa He sent Gosain Bijay Bharti to him The negotiations dragged on to fix the payment of rupees fifty lacs as demanded by the Maratha leader in early March [2] Gosain approached Raghunath Rao at Sambhar to interfere and make settlement between his master, Bijay Singh and Jayappa.[3] It was not liked by Sindia, whose attitude made Raghunath and Holkar leave him alone by proceeding towards Rupnagar.[4] Nothing was settled and the siege dragged on [5]

With the approach of summer, with all its intense heat in Marwar, the tide began to turn against Jayappa News reached Nagor that Jalor was regained by the supporters of Bijay Singh.[6] Jodhpur held out by the *Thakur* of Harsolav, Champoat Surat Singh and Sobhaot Goyand Das [7] It encouraged Bijay Singh to continue the struggle inspite of the deepening privation, hunger and thirst [8] Jayappa began to feel the scarcity of water at Nagor so he withdrew seven miles southward and encamped at Tausar lake.[9] The units of the army of Bijay Singh stationed at different parts of Marwar, began to unite

1 Ibid
2 Ibid,
Marwar-Khyat Vol iii pp 7-8,
The Khyat mentions that the negotiations wese carried through Jait Singh Rawat, the Mewar envoy in the camp of Jayappa at Tausar
3 S P.D XXvii 107
4 Ibid
5 Ibid 106.
6 S P.D XXI 69
7 Ibid XXvii 106;
Marwaa-Khyat Vol iii pp 7-8
8 Rajwade Vol I 44
S P D XXI 69 XXvii 106
9 S P D XXvii 106

and preparations were made to pour down on the Marathas on all sides at a time.[1] Jayappa sent Khanaji Jadav to strengthen the Maratha position at Jodhpur.[2]

The long stand of the siege was so formidable that the Maratha general had to ask for reinforcement from Raghunath Rao.[3] This formidable strength also influenced the other Rajput chiefs to come to the aid of Bijay Singh in order to give it a form of a very strenuous war.[4] The Marathas were pressed hard. Rainy season was at hand. No reinforcement from the Deccan was possibly coming. Peace negotiations dragged on and could not reach a conclusion.[5] The position was that neither the Marathas could take Nagor nor the Rajputs could clear their land from the Marathas. The Rathors, finding no other alternative to achieve their end, succumbed to the mean method of murdering Jayappa Sindia through a planned device on July 24, 1755.[6]

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1 Ibid 112.
2 Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. A Kharita from Maharaja of Bikaner to Madho Singh of Jaipur dated 6th day of the bright-half of the first Jyeshtha vs. 1811/17th May 1755. (KS) Jp;
A Kharita (draft) from Madho Singh to Bijay Singh dated 30th day of the dark-half of the second Jyeshtha vs. 1812/9th June 1755. Jp.
5. S.P.D. XXvii 116.
6. S.P.D. ii. 48; XXvii. 116;
Aiti. Patren 139, 141;
S.S.I.S. Vol. iii 320;
Chahar Guljar (Elliot and Dowson Vol. viii p. 210).
The Persian sources believe that the murder was due to provocation, Japappa had abused Bijay Singh. The Rajput sources (Tod: Vol. ii p. 873; Vamsh Bhaskar Vol. iv pp. 3649-3652; Marwar-Khyat Vol iii pp. 8-9) give the details of the plan of the murder (exaggerated) Planned murder of the Deccanis was not new to the Rathors. Abhay Singh had also removed Pilaji Gaikwar in 1732 by the same technique Jayappa was crameated at Tausar. A beautiful cenotaph was built over Jayappa's ashes (see the picture facing page 297.)

The murder of their leader did not demoralise the Maratha army On the other hand they determined to make an end of the Rathor independence. Jankoji Sindia, son of Jayappa was elevated to the leadership and his uncle Dattaji infused vigour among the *Deccani* soldiers, thus the situation was brought under control[1] Dattaji wrote to Antaji Mankeshwar, who was in Bundelkhand at that time, to come immediately to Marwar.[2] Regarding the defeat of the Marathas in Marwar as a great blow to their position in north India, Antaji rushed towards Nagor in the first week of September, 1755, with a combined force of Jajavi Vithal Shiva Deo, Naro Shankar and Raja Gopal Singh Jat totalling to ten thousand.[3]

Bijay Singh tried to organise a confederacy of the Emperor, the Jats, the Rohillas and the other Rajput rulers to drive the Marathas out of North India altogether He sent his agent to Delhi and through the *Wazir* presented five lacs to the Emperor, begging him to take the field against the Marathas and promising to pay him rupees 10 000 for each day of the march and to join him with the Rajput forces. The Emperor summoned his vassal-chiefs but did not take the field owing to the Abdali danger.[4] The Rajput chiefs made a common cause with the Rathor ruler Gaj Singh of Bikaner and Madho Singh of Jaipur had already moved in June and were now active to liberate Rajasthan from the Deccani domination.[5]

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1 S P D XXvii 116
The Maratha fury ran high The negotiators and the Mewar envoy were put to sword A sense of revenge prevailed in the army

2. S P.D ii 52, 56, XXi 70.

3 Ibid

4 Ibid XXvii 119

5. Ibid;
A Kharita from Gaj Singh of Bikaner to Madho Singh of Jaipur dated 2nd day of the dark-half of Margasirsha vs 1812/21st Nov 1755 (KS)Jp

and Dattaji continued the siege.[1] Madho Singh's offer to mediate between the Rathors and the Marathas was rejected by Bijay Singh.[2] The Peshwa asked Naro Shankar to relieve Sindia in Marwar.[3] A Maratha pressure on Jodhpur was forced on in January, 1756.[4]

(C) Bijay Singh-Sindia agreement, February, 1756 and the loss of Ajmer.

Feeling that it was not possible to gain the Rajput and Mughal aid anymore, Bijay Singh returned to Nagor in December and reopened the peace parleys with Dattaji Sindia in January, 1756.[5] The Marathas, too, had no fair prospects due to the long siege and the famine conditions prevailing in the beginning of 1756 in Marwar.[6] Therefore they were willing to conclude an agreement with Bijay Singh. The treaty was signed in February, 1756.[7]

According to it, the fort of Ajmer, Garh Bitli and the territory round it were ceded to the Marathas. A war indemnity of fifty lacs was imposed on Bijay Singh. Out of this

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. S.P.D. XXvii 119.
4. Ibid XXi 82,
5. Ibid. Singhvi Fateh Chand, the Dewan and Champaot Devi Singh the Pradhan were sent to negotiate the peace Mundiyad Khyat (Bijay-Singh) p. 56.

Ibid.

Ibid;

Aiti. patren 142;

Dayal Das-Khyat Vol.ii Leaf 82. It dates the agreement on February 2,1756.

mount, rupees twenty five lacs were to be paid within the year nd the rest in the two years instalments. A regular tribute rom the Maharaja was fixed at rupees 1,50 000 annually. Ram Singh secured half of the territory of Marwar, which incuded Jalor, Sambhar, Marot, Sojat, Parbatsar and eighty four villages of Kekri in Ajmer, while Jodhpur, Nagor and Merta remained under Bijay Singh [1] It was also insisted, as revealed by a letter from Jankoji to Bijay Singh dated June 26, 1756, that the Maharaja would keep his contingent at Ajmer for its defence, at his cost [2] The Marathas agreed that if Ram Singh tried to interfere in the portion of the territory under Bijay Singh the latter would be free to take retaliatory measures against Ram Singh without infringing the Maratha interest in the territory of Ram Singh [3]

A separate treaty was signed between Ram Singh and Sindia, by which Ram Singh agreed to allow Maratha *Kamvisdar* to stay in his territory in order to collect the daily money from custom out posts The Marathas and Ram Singh were to share the money equally [4]

Having concluded the peace, and appointed Sadashiva as *Kamvisdar* with Ram Singh,[5] Dattaji repaired to Merta and

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1 S P D XXI 82 84 XXvii 128,
Hingane Daftar I 189
Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali pp 407 408 vv 455-462,
Marwar Khyat iii p 12

2 Jankoji to Bijay Singh dated 14th day of the dark-half of Ashadha vs 1813 June 26 1756 Pf 6 file No 108/12 Jd

3 Bijay Singh to Anand Rao Bable dated 9th day of the bright-half of Ashadha vs 1816/June 22, 1760 AB iv p 91 Jd. Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali p 408 vv 665

4 Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali p 408 vv 665.

5 Ibid

thence moved towards Rupnagar in April.[1] Thus ended the Sindia's attack on Marwar, which had begun in 1752. The long Maratha campaign had divided the Rathor land into two parts, roughly a line of demarcation can be drawn from Sambhar to Jalor, east of which was in Ram Singh's possession and west of which was Bijay Singh's territory.[2] It also made Bijay Singh a tributory of the Marathas. But the hereditary throne passed into the hands of the second line of the family legalised under Maratha arms.

(D) The Rathor attitude towards the Marathas on the eve of the battle of Panipat (January, 1761) and after.

Five years of civil war, forced upon by the Marathas on the ruler of Jodhpur, brought the economy of the country to a ruinous state. The treasury was empty; the crown lands remained uncultivated; the peasantry dispersed and commerce diminished owing to the insecure conditions and pillage. The ruinous wars and negotiations dissipated the hoard of wealth accumulated by the rulers of Marwar. The peace agreement made Bijay Singh's position more pitiable. The treasure heard of Jalor was now under the possession of Ram Singh. The frontier post of Ajmer with its garh Bitli (Taragarh), the mineral wealth of Sambhar and the fertile land of south-east Marwar, all had been taken from him. He remained the ruler of the capital and the desert territories of Marwar. Ram Singh secured half of the dominions but was not satisfied. He continued to assert his rights with the same obstinacy by which he lost them.[3]

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1. S.P.D. XXi. 84, 85.
2. See map facing page 103.
3. A Kharita from Ram Singh to Madho Singh dated 4th day of the dark-half of Jyeshtha vs. 1814/May 26, 1758 Jp.

The financial burden thrust on Bijay Singh by the agreement of February, 1756 indicates that it was a purchased peace The paying of the first instalment was a heavy pressure on the empty exchequer of Jodhpur and the subsequent instalments to be paid within next two years were sure to bring an unbalanced state of the finances in Marwar Hence, in order to readjust the tribute, he Maharaja sent his ministers to wait upon Raghunath Rao, when the latter visited Rajputana on his way to Delhi and the Punjab in June, 1757 and request him to put pressure on Sindia to revise the sum on reasonable terms [1] Raghunath Rao refused to entertain such overtures as he felt that it would bring unnecessery interference in the matters of Sindia [2]

In the middle of 1758, Jankoji Sindia also came towards Rajputana [3] Bijay Singh sent his men again to wait upon him at Kota to try for the resettlement of the tribute [4] Raghunath Rao wanted Jankoji to leave Rajputana immediately and proceed to Delhi, but the Sindia remained at Kota throughout July and August He made his arrangements of the tribute with the Jaipur ruler and thought of proceeding to Marwar in September However, on receipt of the news from Antaji Mankeshwar to hurry up to Delhi and not to proceed to Marw-

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1 Rajwade Vol I 66,

2 Ibid
Raghoba also found Bijay Singh harrasing Govind Krishnaji governor of Ajmer continuously to the *extent* that the Peshwa asked Antaji Mankeshwar in February 1758 to proceed to Ajmer and save the situation (S P D ii 87)

3 A Kharita from Maharaja of Kishangarh to Bijay Singh dated 14th day of the bright half of Vaisaka vs. 1814/21st May 1758 Jd Pf 4 File No 8/11

4 *Ibid*

ar, he dropped his further march from Pushkar. He stayed for a long period there to collect the promised tribute from Bijay-Singh. The Jodhpur agents, Pahar Singh, Barhat Karnidan and Vyas Gulab Rai tried for a new settlement with him, but they failed. Bijay Singh had no alternative but to convey the acceptance of the old terms, for he feared, further estrangement at this stage would give Ram Singh an opportunity of bringing Jankoji to Marwar once again.[1]

Bijay Singh waited for another opportunity to press his point and gain not only the relaxation for the payment of the tribute but also to regain the lost territories. In August 1759, Ahmad Shah Abdali crossed the Indus, driving the Marathas before him. As Ahmad Shah moved towards Duab in September he sent messages to Bijay Singh and Madho Singh to make common cause with him against the Marathas.[2] In December he asked the Rathor chief to join him with a contingent.[3]

The Marathas were not unaware of Abdali-Rathor overtures. As early as February 1757, Raja Keshav Rao reported to the Peshwa that Jodhpur ruler was more inclined to serve Abadali than the Marathas.[4] And again on November 22, 1759, Govind Rao Ballal informed Sada Shiva Rao Bhau

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1. A Kharita from Ram Singh to Madho Singh dated 4th day of the dark-half of Jyeshtha vs, 1814/26th May 1758. Jp.; S.P.D. ii 94, 95, 96, 101; XXvii 230, 236; A letter from Bijay Singh to Anand Rao Bable dated 12th day of the bright-half of Karttika vs. 1815/12th November 1758. AB. No. 4. p. 90 Jd.

2. Farman from Ahmad Shah to Madho Singh dated 17th Muharram 1173H/Sept 10, 1759. KS. Jp.

3. Farman (No. 15) from Ahmad Shah to Bijay Singh dated 19th Rabi-ul-akhir 1173H/December 10, 1759 Jd.; S.P.D. ii 106.

4. S.P.D. XXi 101.

that Bijay Singh had decided that if Abdali came, he would join him and overthrow the Maratha influence in the North [1] The Marathas did not fully gauge the Abdali danger till Dattaji Sindia fell fighting at Barari Ghat on January 1, 1760. Anand Rao Bable, the minister of Sindia lost no time and contacted Bijay Singh to send help to the Marathas [2] Bijay Singh took advantage of the situation He sent his agent Barhat Karnidan to Bable to decide the condition of help,[3] but at the same time he assured Abdali of his inclination to join him.[4]

Bijay Singh wanted to regain the lost erritory. It was the opportune time. He rightly judged that Sindia, being too busy against Abdali would not support Ram Singh, if he annexed his possession. Hence, on the pretext that Ram Singh's officials had interfered in his territory, in June, 1760, Bijay Singh began annexation of the territories parcelled out to Ram Singh under the agreement of 1756.[5] The opposition from Jaipur ruler was already overcome by fostering a common policy towards Abdali and the Marathas during their forth coming contest and signing an agreement with him not to help each other's enemies.[6]

In the meantime, protracted negotiations were carried on between Karnidan and Jankoji. It took a long time before

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1 S P D. XXXX 126

2 Bijay Singh to Anad Rao dated 11th *day of* the dark-half of Magha vs 1816/Jan 13, 1760 AB iv. p 91. *Jd*

3 Ibid.

4 A Kharita from Madho Singh to Rana Raj Singh of Udaipur dated 14th day of the bright-half of Phalguna vs. 1816/February 26, 1760 (KS) Jp

5 Bijay Singh to Anand Rao dated 9th day of the bright-half of Ashadha vs. 1816/June 22, 1760 AB iv p 91

6 A copy of Qualnama between Madho Singh and Bijay Singh dated 12th day of the bright-half of Phalguna vs. 1816/February 24 1760 KS Jp

an agreement was signed. Bijay Singh ratified it in January 1791.[1] According to it in lieu of Rathor support against Abdali, Jankoji promised not to help Ram Singh. He also assured that in case the latter attacked Marwar, Sindia's force would aid the Maharaja.[2] Bijay Singh, thus, had won the bargain. However, he remained neutral during the Maratha-Abdali struggle for the supremacy of North India culminating into the battle of Panipat on January 14, 1761. The reason was obvious, as Raja Keshav Rao wrote to the Peshwa that the Rathor chief could not ignore the powerful Abdali and at the same time he was afraid of the opening of the hostilities with the Marathas.[3]

The annihilation of the Marathas at the battle of Panipat had its repercussions on the Rathors. Abdali sent a letter on February 20 to Bijay Singh to come to him with the tribute; in return, he assured him his cooperation against the Marathas, if they troubled him again.[4] Abdali did not stay for long in India. He left in March, 1761. Taking advantage of it, Ram-Singh, with the support of Madho Singh, prepared for an attack on Bijay Singh in May, 1761.[5] He strengthened his position

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1. *An agreement between Bijay Singh and Jankoji Sindia* dated 9th day of the bright-half of Pausha vs. 1817/Jan. 15, 1761 Pf. 6. File no 108/12 Jd , *The date of this agreement is ambiguous* Jankoji had fallen on 14th January 1761 at the battle of Panipat. Hence, the agreement was not entered *into after his death*. It *was done before the* battle and might have reached Jodhpur just on the eve of the battle. Bijay Singh would have ratified it on 15th January 1761. He did not know by this time the results of the battle.
2. *Ibid.*
3. S.P.D. XXi 187.
4. *A farman from Ahmad Shah Abdali to Bijay Singh dated 25th* Rajab 1174H/20th February 1761. Jd.
5. S.P.D. (New series) Vol I. 246

by securing the cooperation of Champaot, *Kumpaot and* Shekhaots Rathors and Kachhwahas [1] He further solicited the help of the Marathas.[2] In the beginning of July, Khanaji Jadav invaded Marwar, established military posts at two to four places and encamped at Pipar, near Jodhpur [3] Though Bijay-Singh fortified his position with utmost care and security,[4] he sent his *agent* Jagan Nath to Raghunath Rao for help [5] Govind Krishna, the Maratha agent in the North, wrote on July 6. to Raghunath Rao not to entertain the Rathor *Vakils* at the cost of the prestige of Sindia.[6] In the meantime the danger from Madho Singh increased to such an extent that the Peshwa had to write to Malhar Rao to take an expedition against him in cooperation with Bijay Singh of Marwar.[7] As the rainy season had set in, Malhar *postponed his visit to Rajputana.*[8] Late in October, 1761, Madho Singh assumed the offensive by sending champaot Shyam Singh and Ram Singh towards Sambhar, whereupon, Bijay Singh proceeded towards *Merta*[9]. *In* the meantime Khanaji Jadav withdrew from Marwar to join *Holkor*[10]. Holkar marched from Indore in early *November* and after contacting the Rathor chief for help[11], routed the

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1 Ibid
21 Ibid.
3 S P D, XXvii 275
4 S P D (New Series) Vol I 246
5 S P.D XXvii 275
6 Ibid
7 Ibid 269
8 Ibid
9 Ibid XXix 17.
10 Ibid XXi 91-94, XXix 27
11 A *Kharita from* the Maharaja of Kishangarh to Bijay Singh dated 3rd day of the *bright-half* of the Margasirsha vs 1818/29th Nov. 1761. *I* f No 4 File No 8/11 *Jd,*
S P D XXix 27

army of Madho Singh near Mangrol on November 29, 1761[1]. Though the Marathas received a set-back at the battle of Panipat yet they were successful in making a mark and taking a prominent part during the renewal of the conflict between Bijay Singh and Ram Singh. Hereafter Ram Singh was out of the picture and the last effort brought a discomfiture to him He quitted Marwar for good and the remaining part of his life he passed at Jaipur, where he died in 1772[2].

(E) Regular visits of Maratha leaders to Marwar.

When Bijay Singh became free from Ram Singh, he consolidated his power and attempted to reoccupy Ajmer, but he failed in it and had to agree to pay an amount of three lacs of rupees to the Marathas[3], though he was reluctant to pay it[4]. Bijay Singh's designs on Ajmer opened the eyes of Sindia and he sent a fresh Maratha force under Babu Rao for the defence of Ajmer against any probable attacks[5]. Henceforth, Bijay Singh tried to keep the Marathas in good humour by sending contingents whenever demanded[6]. When Holkar visited Jaipur in 1764, Madho Singh wanted Bijay Singh's help,

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1. S.P.D. XXix 27.
   Mangrol is 35 miles N.E. of Kota,
2. Marwar-Khyat Vol. iii p. 48;
3. Marwar-Khyat Vol. iii pp. 34-37
4. A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 4th day of the dark-half of Karttika vs. 1820/26th Oct. 1763. AB. No. 4. P. 24. Jd.
   A letter from Bijay Singh to Santoji Bable dated 1st day of the dark-half of Margasirsha vs. 1819/2nd Nov. 1762 AB. No. 4. p. 80. Jd.
6. A letter from Bijay Singh to Pt. Gangadhar dated 10th day of the bright-half of Jyeshtha vs. 1820/9th June 1764; A letter from Bijay Singh to Patel Babu Rao dated 2nd day of the bright-half of Magha vs. 1821/23rd Jan. 1765. AB. No. 4 p. 17, 76 respectively, Jd.

but the Rathor chief refused to comply with the request[1] Holker also required the Rathor aid against the English, against whom he had gone as Nawab of Oudh, Shuja-ud-Daula's helper[2]. But the Rathor chief could not spare his forces, as he feared a fresh attack on him from Sindhia in the middle of 1765[3]

Bijay Singh put his house in order. The military base at *Merta* was reinforced Defence of Sambhar was made strong[4]. In November, 1765, Sindia made preparations of war against Bijay Singh as he was not paying the tribute regularly. A change was made in the administration of Ajmer. The responsibility for it was handed over to Govind Krishna in place of Bapuji Takpir by *Dewan* Achyut Ganesh. The *Dewan* undertook to make an assault on Marwar to collect the tribute from Bijay Singh In the meantime Yaswant Rao Bable attempted to adjust the matters through Charan Ala Karan and intervened An agreement to pay rupees ten lacs was concluded with the *Dewan* Bijay Singh ratified it and gave bonds for the tribute due and thus averted the invasion. Before Achyut could collect any portion of this money, he had to hasten to Jaipur to help Madho Singh against the combined Sikh-Jat army[5] A part of the tribute was sent to Mahadaji in bonds The task of the collection of the rest of the tribute fell on Khanaji Jadav, who,

1 A letter from Dewan Surat Ram to Dalel Singh of Jaipur dated 4th day of the dark half of Sravana vs 1821/17th July 1764 AB No 4 p. 244 Jd

2. A letter from Bijay Singh to Pt Gangadhar dated 6th day of the dark-half of Ashadha vs. 1821/9th June 1765 AB No 4 p 17 Jd

3 Ibid

4 S P D XXix 81.

5 Ibid 97 102.

with a force of five to seven thousand, entered Marwar in May, 1766, molested Nawa and created disturbances. Bijay Singh sent his *Dewan* Surat Ram to pursue Khanaji, who was, then, pushed back towards Ajmer. The *Dewan* encamped at Pisaagan. Then negotiations to pay the rest of the amount began. It was decided that the amount already paid to Mahadaji would not be paid.[1]

The whole of Rajputana was disturbed at the regular Maratha inroads in this part of north India. The Marathas fully utilised the weakness of the rulers and made heavy demands, which were beyond the state finances to meet. The technique adopted by them was unique. They generally entered into an agreement for the payment of the tribute, took a part of it on the spot, agreeing to take the rest by instalments, which were often delayed. If they were not paid or any delay was made in the payment, it gave them chance for further inroads into their territory. They had no fixed principles for freindship. They changed sides to meet their selfish ends. The result was that at heart no Rajput Prince was happy with them. Bijay Singh of Jodhpur was heavily affected by their yearly inroads. Matters grew worse when Sindhia pressed hard, for the supply of a Rathor force to him[2]. To meet its expenses and to pay the amount of the tribute, the Maharaja had to raise money by fresh taxation[3]. Bijay Singh also borrowed money from local

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1. A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 12th day of the dark-half of Jyeshtha vs. 1822/4th June 1766. AB. No. 4 p 24 Jd.;
S.P D. XXix pp. 105-106; L. 128;
Marwar-Khyat Vol. iii pp. 40-41;
Nawa is 27'1'N 75'1' E, on the Northern edge of Sambhar lake.

2. A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 10th day of the dark-half of Magha vs. 1823/25th Jan. 1667. AB. No 4 p. 26. Jd.

3. Marwar-Khyat Vol. iii p. 41.
The Maharaja introduced the tax of 'Rekh Bab'.

editors, who charged exorbitant rate of interest[1]. Hence, when the at Raja Jawahar Singh of Bharatpur wrote to Bijay Singh for a joint-alliance against the Marathas, he welcomed the move Both of them met at Pushkar on November 6, 1767, exchanged turbans and entered into a family relationship. They agreed to drive the Marathas, not only out of Rajputana but Malwa also. They also requested Maharaja Madho Singh of Jaipur to co-operate with them but he refused. Both of them measured swords with the Marathas, who were supported by Jaipur ruler, on December 14, 1767 at Maonda, where they were defeated The Rathor force fled and was closely pursued by the Marathas upto Parbatsar from where *Dewan* Surat Ram purchased their retreat[2].

(F) Bijay Singh annexes Godwad

As a result of this defeat Bijay Singh had to side with Sindia, when the latter was requested by the nobles of Mewar to support the cause of Ratan Singh against Maharana Ari Singh[3]. In May, 1769, when Mahadaji Sindia and Tukoji

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1 A letter from Bijay Singh to Bohras of Nandwana dated 30th day of the dark-half of Pausha vs 1823/31st Dec 1766 AB. No 4 p 286 Jd

2 S P D XXix 162, 164 165,
Chahar Gulzar (Elliot and Dowson Vol. viii p 225),
Vamsh Bhaskar Vol iv pp 3720-3727,
Marwar-Khyat Vol iii pp 43, 47;
Parbatsar is 26 53'N 74 46'E, about 12 miles south of Makrana station and close to Kishangarh border

3 A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 12th day of the dark-half of Margasirsha vs 1825/5th December 1768 AB No. 4 p 26 Jd.
A letter from Bijay Singh to Bahadur Singh of Kishangarh dated 6th day of the dark-half of Pausha vs 1825/29th December 1768 AB No 4 p 240 Jd,
A letter from Maharaja Prithvi Singh to Mahadaji dated 2nd day of the bright-half of Pausha vs 1825/10th Jan 1769 (KS) Jp.

Holkar appeared near Udaipur,[1] the envoys of Bijay Singh, Chatar Singh, Vyas Gulab Rai and Mehta Lal, waited upon Sindia and paid the tribute and the arrears of the years 1766-1769, amounting to rupees 3,88,835[2]. Bijay Singh also agreed to pay for another three years (1769-1772), the tribute amounting to rupees 5,10,000[3] at the yearly basis of rupees one lac fifty thousand. This included twenty five thousand as *Nazarana*[4].

Forces of Sindia and Holkar remained at Udaipur for sometime[5] and waited for a favourable opportunity for negotiations with Ari Singh. Mahadaji was, at the same time, watchful in order not to give a chance to Bijay Singh to act independently with Ari Singh[6]. Earlier in March, 1769, Ari Singh had requested Bijay Singh through his uncle Bagh Singh to come to his side[7] but the Rathor ruler, like Sindia, supported Ratan Singh[8]. In July, 1769, Maharana Ari Singh agreed to pay rupees 64 lacs as tribute. In addition to it, Ari Singh had

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1. S.P.D. XXix 234; XXXviii 185.
2. A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 5th day of the bright-half of Jyeshtha vs 1826/8th June 1769. Pf 6 LN. 8 Jd.
3. Hath Bahi No. 2 pp. 122-123, Jd.
The total amount fixed was Rs. 5,50,000 out of which 40,000 were remitted by Sindia.
Ibid;
A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 5th day of the bright-half of Jyeshtha vs. 1826/8th June 1769. Pf 6. LN. 9. Jd.
5. S.P.D. XXix 239.
Holkar left his camp on June 2, and marched towards Kota.
6. S.P.D. XXix 238; XXXviii 185.
7. A Kharita trom Ari Singh to Bijay Singh dated 5th day of the dark-half of Chaitra vs. 1826/16th March 1769. Pf. 3. File No. 3 Kh. 4. Jd.
8. A letter from the nobles of Mewar to Bijay Singh dated 12th day of the drak-half of Sravana vs. 1825/9th Aug. 1768, Pf.3. file No.3 LN.3.Jd.
The nobles paid 15,00000 rupees to BIjay Singh. S.P.D. XXXviii 185.

that he would not entertain any overtures from Pandit Visaji or his agents, who were said to have been negotiating with the nobles of Rajasthan to interfere in the affairs of Mewar[1]. Sindia insisted that if such interference came from any corner of Rajasthan, he (Bijay Singh) should force it out of Mewar[2]. Again he wrote to Bijay Singh on October 4, 1771, that if Ratan Singh created any fresh troubles in Mewar, he and Govind Rao would act immediately and settle the matters in terms of the already settled tribute[3]. Bijay Singh informed Mahadaji on February 10. 1772, that he was proceeding to Mewar to act according to his directions[4]. However, Bijay Singh found the affairs of Mewar in confusion, where Holkar interfered in the state affairs[5]. He was not happy over the negotiations, which were being carried on by Ari Singh. He, therefore, leaving Govind Rao and his force in Mewar, returned to Jodhpur in June, 1772.[6]

During these years of confusion the tribute of Marwar remained unpaid. Sindia insisted on March 23, 1772 that if the instalments[7] due, were not paid by June 15. 1772, the

1. A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 3rd day of the dark-half of Ashadha vs. 1828/31st May 1771. Pf. 6. LN. 14. Jd.
2. Ibid.
3. A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 11th day of the dark-half of Asvina vs. 1828/4th Oct. 1771, Pf 6. LN. 11. Jd.
4. A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 6th day of the bright-half of Magha vs. 1828/10th Feb. 1772. AB. No. 4. p. 30. Jd.
5. Ibid-dated 13th day of the dark-half of Chaitra, Vs. 1828/31st March 1772 AB. No. 4. p. 31. Jd.
6. Ibid-dated 6th day of the bright-half of Jyeshtha, vs. 1828/7th June 1772. AB. No. 4. p. 32. Jd.
7. A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 5th day of the dark-half of Chaitra vs. 1829/23rd March 1772, Pf. 6, letter No. 18. Jd. (the letter No. 19 of the same date contains the same subject matter);

country would be devastated[1]. However, he assured the Rathor chief that if it was paid in time, no Maratha inroads would take place. If per chance it so happened and the loss was so incurred it would be compensated from the payment[2]. Along with this, Mahadaji also demanded a fourth share in the tribute of Godwad The amount of it was fixed nearly to rupees 30,000 a year, which included rupees five thousand as *Nazrana* from the year 1773[3] He made a condition that no share from this amount would be paid either to the Peshwa or Holkar[4] He deputed Baji Krishna to collect the money from Jodhpur[5]. But nothing came out of it except that a little portion of it[6] had already been paid to Govind Rao earlier Sindia threatened Bijay Singh in December, 1772, with severe consequences if the amount was not paid to Baji Krishna immediately [7]

In the meantime Ram Singh's death in 1772 brought the affairs of Sambhar[8]. to a crisis Bijay Singh, occupied the territory of Sambhar, and then requested Sindia to recognise his

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The instalments fixed were to be paid in the following manner -
On 15th day of the bright half of Chaitra/17th April Rupees 2,00 000
On 15th day of bright half of Vaisaka/16th May Rupees 2 50,000 (Cash Rs, 2 lacs Miscellenceous worth of Rs 50 000)
On 15th day of the bright-half of Jyeshtha/15th June Rupees 1,00 000 (Cash Rs-50 000 Misce lenous worth of Rs 50 000).

1 Ibid

2 Ibid,

3 A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 5th day of the dark-half of Chaitra, vs. 1829 23rd March 1772 Pf 6 LN 20 Jd

4 Ibid

5 A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 3rd day of the bright-half of Pausha vs 1829/27th December 1772 Pf 6 LN, 17 Jd.

6 Rupees one lac was paid to Govind Ram in February, 1772 (A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 6th day of the bright-half of Magha vs. 1828/10th Feb. 1772) AB No 4. p1 302 Jd

7 A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 3rd day of the bright-half of Pausha vs 1829/27th Dec 1772 Pf 6 LN 17 Jd

8, Mundiyad Khyat (Bijay Singh) p. 139 Basta 20 Jd

claim over it[1]. He sent Vyas Gulab Rai on February 27, 1773 to wait upon him[2], and in lieu of the payment of the tribute, Rathor Badan Singh was sent as hostage to him.[3] Sindia assured the Rathor chief of his co-operation in his designs on Sambhar[4]. The due arrears of the tribute for the years 1769-1772 were paid in two instalments, first on April 30, 1774[5] and then on July 14, 1775[6].

Bijay Singh was not powerful enough to oppose Sindia's regular demands of the payment of the tribute. At times he paid and at times he evaded, but ultimately had to pay it: His protests to Sindia about his agent Ambaji Ingle's ravaging the territory of Marwar in November, 1776, despite his regular payment, fell on deaf ears and Ingle was paid the due amout of the tribute[7]. The relation with Holkar remained cordial during this period. Bijay Singh made available the white marble stones from Makrana to Ahalya Bai[8] for the construction of her temples.

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1. A letter from Bijay Singh to Santoji Bable dated 12th day of the dark-half of Phalguna vs. 1829/18th Feb. 1773. AB. No. 4. p. 81. Jd.
2. A letter of Bijay Singh to Mahadaji Sindia dated 6th day of the bright-half of Phalguna 1829/27th Feb. 1773. AB. No. 4 p. 32. Jd.
3. A leter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated the bright-half of Ashadha vs. 1830/June 1773. Pf. No. 6. LN. 25. Jd.
4. Ibid-dated the bright-half of Ashada vs. 1830/June 1773. Pf. 6. LN. 26. Jd.
5. A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Sin3h dated 5th day of the dark-half of Vaisaka/30th April 1774. Pf. 6. LN. 29. Jd;

   Hath Bahi No. 2. pp. 125-126. Jd;
   The amout paid was Rs. 4, 89, 483 and annas seven only.
6. A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 2nd day of the dark-half of Sravana vs. 1832/14th July 1775 Pf 6. LN. 30. Jd.
   Rs' 60, 516 and annas nine were paid.
7. A letter from Surat Ram to Mahadaji dated 5th day of the bright-half of Karttika vs. 1833/16th Nov. 1776. AB. No. 4. p. 264. Jd.
8. Hath Bahi No 2 p. 127, pp. 131-132, Jd.

(G) Bijay Singh overthrows Mahadaji's domination in Rajasthan (1787 A.D.)

Although by intervals he (Bijay Singh) paid the tributes[1], there developed causes for estranged relation between Mahadaji Sindia and Bijay Singh. Sindia did not like the interference of Bijay Singh in the affairs of Bhinai of Ajmer district and in July, 1780, Mahadaji asked Bijay Singh to withdraw his officials from there[2]. The Rathor-British overtures in 1781[3] were looked upon by Sindia as a move against him as he was not on good terms with the British power at that time[4]. In the Saktavat-Chundavat struggle for power in Mewar in 1784, the rupture was clearly indicated, when Sindia's forces went to fight for the Chundawats and the Rathors supported the cause of the Sakta-

1. A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 5th day of the dark-half of Magha, vs 1838/4th Jan. 1782. Pf. 6. LN. 41, Jd.
   Rupees 3,60 000 were paid, for the tribute of the years vs 1829 to 1834/1772 to 1777;
   Hath Bahi No. 2, pp. 124-125. Jd.
   Rupees 4,39,000 were paid for the tribute of the years vs. 1835 to 1839/1778 1782; A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 4th day of the dark-half of Chaitra first vs. 1842/28th Feb, 1785;
   Ibid-dated 7th day of the bright-half of Chaitra first, vs. 1842/17th March 1785;
   Ibid-dated 8th day of the bright-half of Vaisaka vs 1842/16th May, 1785, Pf 6 LN. 50, 51, 52 respectively Jd.
2. A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 6th day of the bright-half of Ashadha vs. 1837/7th July 1780 Pf. 6. LN. 38. Jd.;
   A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 3rd of the dark-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1837/18th Aug. 1780. AB. No 4. p. 39. Jd.
3. The Governor General, Warren Hastings, informed Bijay Singh in November, 1781, that he was sending his agent Anderson to Jodhpur to discuss about their mutual alliance against common enemies. Anderson was instructed by the Governor General to pay full attention to the demands and desires of Jodhpur Raja and comply with them. He further informed Bijay Singh that the British government was anxious to secure his help.
   (C.P.C. Vol vi 175, 280.)
4. The Anglo-Maratha war was at its fag end in 1781.

vats[1]. The relation between Sindia and Bijay Singh worsened, when in 1786 Mahadaji threatened an armed attack on Jaipur, as the Jaipur ruler did not pay the tribute of rupees 21 lacs settled earlier[2].

Since the death of Ram Singh in 1772, Bijay Singh had improved his relations with Jaipur rulers. In 1774, he had approached the Emperor, making a common cause with Raja Prithvi Singh, for help against Partap Singh Naruka the Macheri chief and the Emperor agreed to it in lieu of their support to him agains tthe Marathas[3]. On April 16. 1778, Sawai Pratap Singh became the ruler of Jaipur, Thereupon, the Naruka chief began to dream of territorial soveregnty for himself. He occupied a part of Jaipur territory by 1782[4]. Bijay Singh offered to come to the help of the Jaipur ruler[5]. However, he warned the Jaipur Politicians to be aware of the attitude of the Marathas[6]. Jaipur-Jodhpur cordial relations were strengthened by May, 1785[7]. Further more Bijay Singh entered into matri-

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1. A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 7th day of the bright-half of Chaitra, vs. 1840/28th March 1784;
Ibid-dated 10th day of the bright-half of Jyeshtha vs. 1840/29th May 1784. AB. No 4. p. 41 and p. 42 respectively. Jd.

2. HP: 406;
DY. i. 133.

3. C.P C. Vol iv 1277;
A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 11th day of the bright-half of Karttika vs. 1831/14th Nov. 1774, AB. No 4 p 33. Jd;
A letter from Bijay Singh to Tukoji Holkar dated 6th day of the dark-half of Margasirsha vs. 1831/24th November 1774. AB. No. 4 p. 5. Jd.

4. A letter from Sawai Ram to Bhat Jagan Datta of Jaipur dated 8th day of the bright-half of Chaitra, vs 1838/22nd March 1782. AB No. 4 p. 192. Jd.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. JY. 2;
C.P,C. Vol vii 155.

monial alliance by giving his grand-daughter in marriage to Partap Singh in August, 1785[1] After the departure of Mahadaji from Jaipur in June, 1786[2], Bijay Singh activised the formation of the alliance with Jaipur Though by August, 1786 the confederacy between the Jaipur and Jodhpur rulers was visible and the assemblage of their forces was open and avowed[3], yet the two states were not bound by an agreement Bijay Singh had proposed to Partap Singh that in order to meet the expenses of the joint army, certain districts of Jaipur might be kept under him[4] It was not accepted by the Jaipur ruler A temporary coolness followed this refusal Matters came to such a pass, at a time, that a section of Jaipur court plotted to negotiate with Sindia in the middle of January, 1787[5] But the ministerial changes in Jaipur in January, 1787, which brought Daulat Ram Haldia, an anti-Maratha statesman, as *Dewan*, put the plan of Bijay Singh of a Rajput confederacy, into action[6] In the meantime, Bijay Singh had contacted the Shekhaots and tried

1 HP 411,
JY 2

2 MD ii 114
The attitude of Sindia towards Jaipur ruler demanding the arrears of the tribute forced Sawai Raja to withdraw his vakil from the camp of Sindia in 1785 Bijay Singh supporting the Jaipur ruler also recalled his Vakil (M D ii 114)

In January, 1786 Sindia *marched* against the Jaipur ruler Jaipur-Jodhpur military preparations were not ready for an action at that time, hence Partap Singh purchased Mahadaji's withdrawl by agreeing to pay rupees sixty three lacs As soon as the first instalment of rupees eleven lacs was received by Sindia he left Jaipur *on* June 4 1786 (Ibid)

3 P R C I 51

4 Ibid 119,

5 Ibid. 71, 82

6. DY I 175
P R C I 86, 175

for reconciliation between them and Jaipur ruler with success[1]. In February, 1787, Partap Singh agreed to meet the expenses of the army and requested Bijay Singh to send his forces at the earliest[2].

In the meantime, Bijay Singh prepared himself in such a way that his position became formidable by February, 1787. The annexation of Godwad had strengthened his financial position at home. In order to stabilise it, he introduced *Bijayshahi* coins in 1781[3]. He created a standing army under Bhim Raj Singhvi, enlisting the mercenaries from Sind and Rohilkhand[4]. In 1782, Umarkot in Sind was occupied[5] from where he could recruit the mercenaries, He signed a pact with Najaf Quli Khan in August, 1785[6]. In February, 1786, he contacted Holkar[7]. In March, he further enlisted the *Nagas* and *Dadupanthi Sadhus* in his standing army[8]. The British power was approached in June to give him help against the Marathas[9]. When Mahadaji came to Jaipur in early months of 1786 and

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1. A Kharita from Partap Singh to Bijay Singh dated 12th day of the bright-half of Pausha vs 1843/1st Jan. 1787. Pf. 9. Kh. 26. Jd.; JY. (S) 1.
2. A Kharita from Partap Singh to Bijay Singh dated 30th day of the dark-half of the Phalguna vs. 1843/18th Feb. 1787. Pf. 9. Kh. 30. Jd.
3. Bijay Singh, after having obtained permission from the Emperor Shah Alam II, struct his own coins in 1781. The coins are also known as Baisunda and are of silver. (W. W. Webb.: The currencies of Hindus states of Rajputana p. 43.)
4. Marwar-Khyat Vol. iii p. 53.
5. Ibid. pp. 112-119.
6. HP. 411.
7. A letter from Ambaji Ingle to Bijay Singh dated 9th day of the dark-half of Phalguna vs. 1842/22nd Feb. 1786. Pf. 2b. File No. 1 LN. 6. Jd.
8. A letter from Gyan Mal to Nirbhai Ram dated 4th day of the bright-half of Phalguna vs. 1842/4th March 1786. AB. No. 4. p 274. Jd.
9. C P. C. Vol. vii 564, 565.

secured a part of the tribute by remaining there upto June, Bijay Singh took him out of it and began to formulate a Rajput confederacy of neighbouring states[1]. Having formed a close alliance with Jaipur in February, 1787, Bijay Singh sent his envoys to solicit the help of Shuja-ud-Daula of Oudh, the Sikhs and the Afghan ruler[2] A suggestion by Mahesh Dass Kumpaot to reconcile with Sindia was overruled by Bijay Singh[3]. The movements of Sindia's envoys Rama Rao Sadashiv and Peshwa's representative Krishnaji Jaganath were restricted[4] Conscription was ordered in Marwar[5]

The warlike preparations of Bijay Singh and Partap Singh enraged Mahadaji He sent a force under Bakhshi Jivaji Ballal Kerkar (Jivadada) at the end of February, 1787, to strengthen his force under Rayaji Patel, already stationed near Jaipur. It proved of no avail Lest things should become too formidable to tackle with, Mahadaji himself proceeded towards Jaipur and reached near Dausa on March 24[6] A peaceful settlement between Jaipur ruler and Mahadaji was rendered impossible by the stiffening attitude of the Jaipur ruler Hence a rupture was inevitable[7]. For four months Sindia waited for

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1 P R C. I 49
2 JY (S) I
3 Ibid
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid
6 DY. I 197
P R C. I 58 71 82 85
7. DY I 210 211, 220
P R C. I 102 103 104
The last meeting of the Jaipur envoy (representative) who was sent to negotiate for peaceful settlement, and Sindia's representative was held on April 14 The Raja offered rupees 14 lacs and demanded the surrender of Khushali Ram Bohra to him after which he assured Sindia to clear the balance of the tribute Mahadaji refused to let off anything against his claim on the ground to surrender Bohra

the arrival of the Maratha cavalry under Ambaji Ingle and Khande Rao[1]. However, his main intention was to take up the offensive after the rains, in which interval, he calculated upon the dispersion of the confederates as their solidiery being chiefly composed of husbandmen who would retire to their fields for cultivation[2]. He had also calculated that the leaders of the confederacy would quarrel over their vested interests and hoped that his presence would weaken their cord before the action[3]. Khande Rao arrived on June 26[4], and Ambaji Ingle later on, in July, joined Sindia[5].

The Rajput confederacy, led by Bijay Singh, became formidable, In the beginning of May, 1787, the Jaipur ruler prepared to take the field[6]. Bijay Singh also moved out of Jodhpur to join the forces of Jaipur[7]. But affairs at Jodhpur[8] delayed his further movements. He asked his son Zalim Singh to proceed with 15,000 horses[9]. At the same time, he informed the Jaipur ruler not to engage in an armed clash until his *Bakhshi*

1. P.R.C. I 122, 124.
2. A letter from William Kirkpatric to G.G. dated 3th May 1787. F,S. 17th May 1787. No. 3. Prdg. pp. 2888-2889.
3. P.R.C. I 118, 119.
4. A letter from William Kirkpatrick to G. G. dated 4th July 1787. F. S. 16th July, 1787 No. 2 Prdg. p. 3836; P.R.C. I 124.
5. P.R C. I 127.
6. A Kharita from Partap Singh to Bijay Singh dated 3rd day of the dark-half of Jveshtha vs. 1844/5th May, 1787. Pf.9.Kh.40.Jd; P.R.C. I 103, 104.
7. P.R.C. I 114.
8. A Kharita from Partap Singh to Bijay Singh dated 10th day of the bright half of Vaisaka vs 1844/27th April 1787, Pf.9.Kh.38.Jd.
9. M.D.ii 149.

Bhim Raj joined him[1]. It delayed an immediate action by Partap Singh. Bijay Singh also contacted the Mughal leader Muhmmad Beg Hamdani, who by this time was on the side of Sindia and was encamping near Jaipur forces[2]. The Rathors allured him to help regain Agra from Sindia[3], whereas, the Kachhwahas promised him to grant land in Jaipur territory[4]. Hamdani agreed and along with Bhim Raj Bakhshi, he joined the camp of Jaipur ruler on May 25[5]. Bhim Raj had also brought with him 15 000 Rathor cavalry, 4,000 Minas and 5,000 mercenary *Naga* musketeers[6]. The total number of the confederates increased to 40,000[7]. In July, a fresh agreement was entered into among the Rathors, Kachhwahas and Hamdani in order to define what was to be achieved in a war with the Sindia[8]. According to it[9], the Raja of Jaipur was to be put in possession of all the territories that belonged to his family during the time of Madho Singh. He was to divide equally

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1 A Kharita from Partap Singh to Bijay Singh dated 9th day of the dark-half of Jyeshtha, vs.1844/11th May 1787. Pf 9 Kh 41 Jd

2 P R C. I 114

3 Marwar-Khyat Vol III pp 57 60

4 A letter from William Kirkpatrick to G G dated 1st June 1787 F S, dated 11th June 1787 No 5

5 Ibid dated 28th May 1787 F. S dated 11th June 1787 No 3, P R C.I 115, C P C. Vol VII 1442

6 JY. (S) I; DY I 220-221

7 A letter from Bijay Singh to Tukoji Holkar dated 14th day of the dark-half of Pausha vs 1844/7th Jan 1788 AB No. 4 p 6. Jd. HP 300 (gives the number to 50 000).

8. [illegible]

9. Ibid

the dominions of Macheri Raja with Bijay Singh. Hamdani was to occupy the remaining part of the country possessed by late Najaf Khan after restoring to the Jaipur ruler such parts of it as originally belonged to his family. Whatever other districts the confederates might subdue, Hamdani was to keep one half and the two Rajas were to divide remaining half equally.

A grand strategy was adopted to meet the Marathas throughout Rajasthan. The Maharana of Mewar was encouraged to occupy the five *Mahals*, under possesion of Sindia in his territory and lay designs on Ujjain[1]. Zalim Singh of Kota was asked by the Rathors to reoccupy those parts of his dominions which were under the possession of the Marathas[2]. Col. Harper was requested by the Jaipur ruler on July 10, to ask the council of Governor General 'to issue orders to Raja Himmat Bahadur to attack Sindia from the other side of the Jamuna[3]. The Rajputs began to seduce the Mughal mercenaries of Sindia on their side[4]. To counteract the delaying tactics of Sindia, the section of the confederacy led by the Rathors desired to push the matters to an issue before the arrival of Ambaji Ingle[5]. However, the Jaipur ruler waited for the junction of his helpers from Bikaner, Bundi, Khichiwara and other Rajput centres,

1. H.p. 502.
2. A letter from Gyan Mal Muhnot to Zalim Singh dated 12th day of the dark-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1844/8th Sept. 1787. AB. No. 4. P. 221. Jd.
3. C.P.C. Vol. vii 1442. 1556.
4. A letter from William Kirkpatrick to G.G. dated 7th May 1787. F. S. dated 17th May 1787 No. 4; P.R.C. I III.
5. Letters from William Kirkpatrick to G.G. dated 3rd & 7th May, 1787 F.S. 17th May 1787. No. 3. and 4; P.R.C. I 122.

particularly for a large body of hired Sindi musketeers[1]. The arrival of Khande Rao and Ambaji Ingle awakened their spirit of prompt action. Bhim Raj, Hamdani, Daulat Rao and Mullick Muhammad Khan began to intercept the supply of provisions to the Marathas[2] Daily skirmishes began, in which fighting was done by the Rathors[3], who created the morale of the confederacy 'exceedingly strong[4], bringing fresh desertions from Sindia's army[5] to be absorbed in their fold

However, the weakness of the confederacy lay in the vested interest of the Jaipur ruler He was not so much interested in the Rajput confederacy as to regain from Pratap Singh Naruka his lost territory[6] He was therefore making movements to achieve this end[7] rather than adhering to the major interest of the entire confederacy. From the very beginning he was moving half-heartedly and was trying to make favourable terms with Sindia through Ambaji Ingle, Shivaji Etal Rao and Rane Khan [8] As soon as the *Rathor* General came to know about all these affairs, on July 25 [9] he induced the Jaipur ruler

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1 P R C I 124

2 A letter from William Kirkpatrick to G G dated 4th July 1787 F S 16th July 1787 No 2, P R C I 127

3 P R C I 127

4 Ibid

5 A letter from Harper to G G dated 2nd Aug 1787 F, S 28th Aug 1787 No 14 Prdg p 4239

Even on the eve of the battle, 100 Rohillas and 200 Najibs fled from Sindia's army

6 A Kharita from Pratap Singh to Bijay Singh dated 2nd day of the bright half of Sravana vs. 1844/16th July 1787 Pf 9 Kh 45 Jd

7 Ibid.

8. P. R C. I 133 135
C. P C. Vol vii 1544

9. P R C.I 131.

to fight whole heartedly in the battle to be fought the next day.[1] The Kachhwaha ruler had, then, no alternative but to fight for the confederacy.[2]

The battle was fought at Tunga on July 28, 1787.[3] The confederates arranged their line of action in such a way that the Rathors on the right were to meet the six battallions of Lesteneau and Le Vassoult. Hamdani was on the left and the centre was evidently formed by the Kachhwahas. The brunt of the battle fell on the Rathors, who 'with their guns had commenced the engagement.'[4] The battle of artillery began at nine in the morning. For full two hours it continued. 'The Rathors were severely hurt but they advanced.'[5] The Maharaja of Jaipur, who kept himself back, then advanced to the field in person but knowing that 'the Rathors' foot had taken possession of the defiles in his front, he did not think it wise to advance.'[6] At 11 o'clock, the *battle of the artillery stopped. They, then,* fought with the small arms, arrows, swords and rockets. Four thousand Rathors charged the post of Ambaji at about four o'clock. The Maratha batteries on the left under Khandoji Appa

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1. Ibid. 135;
   A letter from Harper to G. G. dated 2nd Aug. 1787.
   F. S, 28th Aug. 1787 No. 14. Prdg, p. 4244.
   The Rathors took Aan that they would on the 'morrow set out and not return alive but with the victory.'
2. Ibid;
   C. P. C. Vol. vii 1544.
3. P. R. C. I. 135, 136, 137; HP. 503.
   Aiti. Patren 261; Dy. I 224; S. C. C. R. ii 71, 195;
   C. P. C. Vol. vii 1544, 1545, 1551-1553.
4. P. R. C. I. 137.
5. P. R. C I. 135;
   A letter from Harper to G. G. dated 2nd Aug. 1787.
   F. S. 28th Aug. 1787. No. 14 Prdg. pp. 4239-4244.
6. P. R. C. I. 137.

ploughed through their dense rank but 'heedless to it, they swept the marathas guns, sabred the gunners and still advancing fell upon the supporting Maratha infantry ' Hundreds of *Nagas* and Afghan troops were slain Even De Boigne's sepoys, after firing a few volleys, were forced back in confusion.[1] However, the Rathor retreat was forced back by the artillery of Rane Khan, bringing their casualty to twenty chieftains of note and 400 to 500 men killed or wounded. Their leader Shobha Ram Bhandari with his ... In the evening Hamidani fell ... athors tried again to break through the Maratha defence four or five times towards the evening but the artillery blocked their way [3] The battle stopped at 8 P.M in the night [4]

Although the Rajputs got heavy casualties, they were successful in pushing back Sindia from Tunga towards Alwar and Hindaun on August first[5]. It proved to be a turning point

1 P R. C. I 135 137,
HP 500.
C. P. C Vol vii 1544

2 P. R C I 135, 136 137;
HP 500. It gives the Rathor casualty to 1000,
Maratha casualty was 1000 men killed or wounded
C.P C. Vol vii 1551;
A Kharita from Partap Singh to Bijay Singh dated 5th day of the dark-half of Margasirsha vs 1844/29th Nov 1787. Pf 9 Kh. 49 Jd
It gives the casualty of the both sides as equal.

3 P R C. I 137;
HP. 503

4 P R C. I 135

5 P.R C I 137 135,
HP 503,
C.P.C. Vol. vii 1572,
A Kharita from Pratap Singh to Bijay Singh dated 5th day of the dark-half of Margasirsha vs. 1844/29th Nov, 1787. Pf. 9. Kh. 49 Jd,
Bijay Singh sent congratulations to Gulab Singh Tatodi

in uprooting Sindia's foothold in Rajasthan. As soon as Sindia was driven back, Bijay Singh sent Singhvi Dhan Raj from Merta[1] to take the city of Ajmer. It fell to the Rathors on August 27[2]. Then the siege of the fort of Ajmer began. A Jaipur force under Rodoji Khawas also joined the besiegers[3] Bijay Singh sent more re-inforcement from Jalor and Nagor to tighten the siege so as to force its surrender[4]. However, the fort was successfully defended by Sher Khan Jamadar, a brother of Mirza Rahim Beg[5]. Mahadaji did not come to save the city and the fort[6]. He wrote to Fateh Singh Gaikwar to Baroda earnestly pressing him to pour troops into Marwar in order to *prevent the fall of Ajmer, which would be an event of serious* consequences to him and the possession of it would enable Rathors to penetrate into the very heart of his hereditary dominions[7] In October, Ambaji Ingle, with the help of the Raja of Kishangarh, tried to pierce into Ajmer and to provision the fort but Rodoji Khawas opposed their march resulting in their retreat with heavy loss of the baggage. Tke commander of the fort could not stand the long siege, To save his honour, he took poison, thus facilitating its surrender on December 24,

Khyat Granth no. 25 p. 8 Basta no. 40) and Ridmal Singh Akhay Singhot (Khas-Rukka and Parwana file no. 107 (DK—Jd,) for their part in defeating Mahadaji at the batile of Tunga.

1. P.R.C. I 175;
   Marwar-Khyat Vol. iii pp. 66-70.
2. P.R C. I. 175;
   C.P.C. Vol. vii 1645.
3. P.R.C. I 192;
   MD. ii 154;
4. Marwar-Khyat Vol. iii pp. 66-70'
5. P.R.C. I 175.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

1787[1] Dhan Raj Singhvi was appointed its governor by Bijay Singh[2]. Sindia's hold on Rajasthan disappeared with the fall of Ajmer to the Rathor chief, who believed, as he wrote to Tukoji Holkar in January, 1788, that the land of Rajasthan must belong to the Rajasthanis and in their friendship lay the prosperity of the Marathas[3]

(H) Rathor moves against Sindia (1788-1790 A.D)

Hereafter, Bijay Singh tried his level best that Sindia might neither have hold in Rajasthan nor in North India[4]. In order to be successful in his plan he entered into negotiations with all the powers, who were interested in driving out Sindia from the North. He wrote to the Peshwa through Tukoji Holkar in January 1788, to deprive Mahadaji of the leadership of the Maratha affairs in the North.[5] He sent Bhim Raj Singhvi, his *Bakhshi* to wait upon the Emperor at Rewari in February-March, 1788, in order to secure the Imperial support

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1 P R.C I 192,
MD, ii 154,

A Kharita from Partap Singh to Bijay Singh dated 10th day of the bright half of Margasirsha vs 1844/20th Dec 1787, Pf 9 Kh, 50 Jd ;

A MS history of Ajmer and Jodhpur p 72: It mentions that 'Bhim Raj Sinkee on his return from Jaypore after the defeat of Madoo Patial captured the fort of Ajmer after a siege of three months through the treachery of Imam Allee a friend, whom he had in the service of his opponent.'

Marwar-Khyat mentions that the Mian took 20 000 rupees and then surrendered the fort (Vol iii pp, 69-70)

2 A MS history of Ajmer and Jodhpur p 146.

3 A letter from Bijay Singh to Tukoji Holkar dated 14th day of the dark half of Pausha, 1844 7th Jan 1788
AB No 4 p 6 Jd

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

against Sindia.[1] Exploiting Holkar–Sindia differences,[2] he asked Tukoji not to support Mahadaji, if he desired to keep his hold in North India.[3] At the same time, he did not pay heed to the peace overtures sent by Mahadaji.[4] He supported the *coup* of Ghulam Qadir, an avowed enemy of Mahadaji, against the Emperor at Delhi in August,[5] Responding to an earlier call of the Sikh leaders in July, for forming an alliance of mutual help,[6] he sent his envoy to them in October.[7] He also asked Timur Shah of Afghanistan to come to India, which he did in December.[8] He asked his agents at Delhi to enrol the three platoons of Sindia, which had revolted against him in April, 1789.[9] *The British help was also sought by Bijay Singh* for this purpose in the beginning of 1790.[10]

However, Bijay Singh was not successful in his efforts. Thoguh Holker had his own differences with Sindia, yet he was

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1. JY. 11;
   C.P.C. Vol. viii 255;
   Marwar-Khyat Vol. iii pp. 70-71.
2. JY. (S) 2;
   HP. 543-546.
3. A letter from Bijay Singh to Tukoji Holkar dated 5th day of ihe dark-half of Sravana vs. 1845/23rd July 1788. AB. No. 4. p. 8. Jd.
4. P.R.C. I. 312;
   C.P.C. Vol. viii 617;
   Hakikat Bahi No. 4 p. 602.
5. JY. 5. 9.
6. An article ' A treaty proposed by Sikh leaders to Maharaja Bijay Singh of Jodhpur in July, 1788.'
   (Published in J.I.H. Vol. XXvi Pt. I. No. 76. 1948.)
7. JY.(S) 3.
8. JY. 8; (S) 3;
   C.P.C. Vol. viii 264.
9. JY. (S) 5.
10. P.R.C. I 258;
    C.P.C. Vol. ix 161,

not pleased with Bijay Singh for his occupation of Ajmer.[1] He regarded himself first a representative of the Peshwa to look after his interest in North India and therefore he expressed his indignation over it [2] In April, 1789, Timur Shah, hearing of the revolt of his brother, returned to Afghanistan [3] Sindia had regained his lost position at the beginning of 1789,[4] in North India, where the Peshwa retained him at the head of the Maratha interest [5] Bijay Singh tried to beg time by proposing an alliance with Mahadaji through Holkar in July, 1789, but Sindia had no mood to respond.[6] The Emperor and the Sikh leaders did not like Bijay Singh's invitation to Timur Shah, for they feared his coming would be detrimental to their interests.[7] Hence the Sikhs asked Bijay Singh not to call Timur Shah, in lieu of which they were prepared to help him [8] But he had renewed his invitation to Timur Shah,[9] only to hear no response from him or his agent, Shah Nawaz Khan, in Sind.[10] The British expressed their inability to come to help Bijay

1 JY (S) 2,
C.P.C Vol viii 795.

2 Ibid,
M D ii 171

3 JY (S) 5

4 M D ii 173
Aitihasik Patravyavahar 266-27,
Persian Records on Marathas, ii p 17

5 DY. I 231

6. H S L S I 236

7 C.P.C. Vol viii 1518

8 Ibid.

9. Ibid.;
General letters to the court of Directors dated 5th November 1789. F. P. (1789-1791) p 75.

10 JY. 11

Singh in March, 1790, as they were busy against Tipu Sultan.[1]

Earlier Mahadaji had expressed his determination to carry his arms against Jodhpur after the rains in 1789,[2] but he could not do it because of his severe illness upto August, 1789[3] and then, his quarrels with Ali Bahadur and Tukoji threatened a civil war between them. But immediately, he had regained his position. He reconciled with Ali Bahadur and Holkar, restored Rane Khan to his former confidence and reorganised his artillery under De Boigne.[4] In May, 1790, he decided to march on to Marwar with the main aim of recapturing the fort of Ajmer from Bijay Singh.[5] The Jodhpur ruler had no alternative but to measure swords with Sindia in order to keep Ajmer under him. Earlier in november, 1789, finding the prospects of the situation adverse to him, he had formulated the union of the forces of Jaipur and Jodhpur[6] When Ismail Beg revolted against Mahadaji in the beginning of 1790, he took the opportunity and made an alliance with him.[7] The march of the army of Sindia under Jiviji Ballal and Col De Boigne through Rewari was stopped at Patan[8] by the combined

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1. C.P.C. Vol. ix 207.
2. General letters to the court of Directors dated 5th November 1789. F.P. (1789-1791) p. 74.
3. Persian Records on Marathas ii p. 17.
4. P. R. C. I 257; HP, 567
5. S. C. C R. ii 76. Poona Akhbarat Vol. iii pp. 122-123.
6. General letters to the court of Directors dated 5th Novembe, 1789. F.P. (1789-1891) p. 74.
7. A letter from Palmer to G. G. dated 21st February 1790. F.S. dated 5th March 1790 No. 2; DY. ii 2,
8. Patan is 18 miles south of Narnaul and 60 miles north of Jaipur.



Vijay Singh, Jodhpur

forces of Rathors, Kachhwahas and the Mughals under Ganga Ram Bhandari and Ismail Beg.[1] A severe battle was fought on June 20, 1790. The Rathors fought bravely but the inactivity of the Jaipur force and desertion of Ismail Beg at the very first canon shot of De Boigne made them fall back on the frontiers of their motherland. The Rathor casualty was 3,000 killed and wounded.[2]

(1) Sinda invades Marwar.

On this defeat, Bijay Singh approached Mahadaji through Rane Khan and Pandit Aba Chitnis for peace talks, which Sindia did not entertain.[3] The Maratha chief was determined to press for the cession of Ajmer fort, make complete reduction of Jodhpur and expel the Raja.[4] His forces under Jivaji, Gopal Bhau and De Boigne left Patan soon after the battle and occupying Sambhar, Parbatsar and Rupnagar on the way, it reached Ajmer, where the siege of the fort was laid on August 21, 1790.[5]

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1 P R C I 260;
HP. 570 573, 576;
Poona Akhbarat Vol iii p 132

2. Ibid.

3 Letters from Khichi Gordhan to Mahadaji, Rane Khan and Pandit Aba Chitnis dated 12th day of the dark-half of 2nd Ashadha vs. 1846/9th July 1790. AB No 4 p. 166 Jd.

4 P.R C, I 264,
HP. 575,
Poona Akhbarat Vol. iii p. 132

5 P.R C. I 264,
HP. 575 579;
Marwar-Khyat Vol. iii p 84,
Herbert Compton: European Military Adventurers of Hindustan p. 55. It gives the date of the siege as 15th August (wrong).

Despite his illness,[1] Bijay Singh made the Rathors assemble under his banner. Armies from Jalor, Desuri and Sirohi were immediately summoned.[2] The heavy artillery was brought into repairs and use.[3] Conscription was ordered in Marwar.[4] Jaipur ruler assured his full support.[5] The Bikaner forces joined the Rathors at Didwana.[6] Attempt at the defection of De Boigne was tried in vain by Bijay Singh with a proposal to create him an independent ruler of Ajmer.[7] Ismail Beg began to mobilise forces for his help.[8] Ten thousand Rathors were kept for the defence of the capital.[9] Thirty six thousand Rathors assembled at Merta,[10] under *Bakhshi* Bhim Raj, with a view to march and reinforce the beseiged garrison at Ajmer.[11]

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1. P.R.C. I 264.

2. Hakikat Bahi No 5 p. 151 Jd;
A letter from Muhnot Gyan Mal to Beri Sal of Sirohi dated 1st day of the bright-half of 2nd Ashadha vs 1846/13th July 1790. AB. No. 4.p. 263. Jd.
To meet the financial emergency, Gulab Rai, the favourite *Pasban* of the Maharaja, sold her ornaments worth rupees 3 lacs. Khichi Gordhan was asked to arrange for another sum of rupees three lacs.
(Mundiyad Khyat (Bijay Singh) pp 226-227-Basta No. 20).

3. Hakikat Bahi No 5. p. 15r. Jd.

4 JY. (S) 1.

5. A Kharita from Partap Singh to Bijay Singh dated 10th day of the bright half 2nd Ashadha vs. 1847/21st July 1790 Pf. 9. Kh. 82. Jd.

6. Hakikat Bahi No 5 p. 147. Jd.

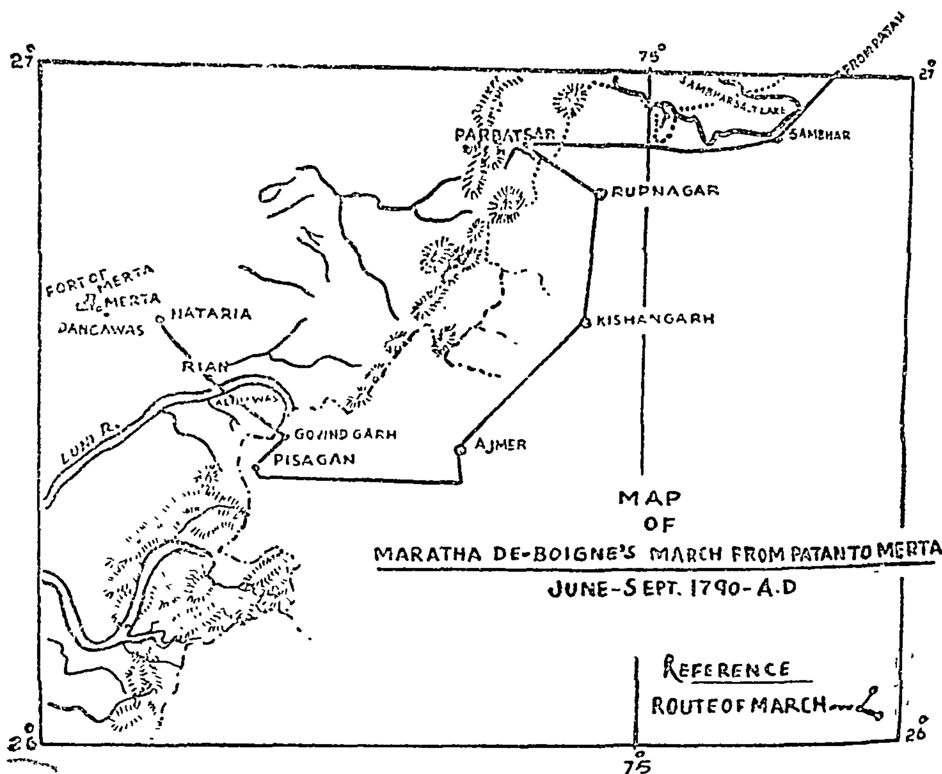
7. Herbert Compton : European Military Adventurers of Hindustan p. 55.

8. C.P.C. Vol. ix 737
Ismail Beg was promised 10,000 rupees a month for his help to Rathors
(Hakikat Bahi No. 5 p. 165) Jd.

9 S C.C.R. ii 82

10. HP, 579;
S.C.C.R. ii 79.

11. C.P.C. Vol. ix 737.

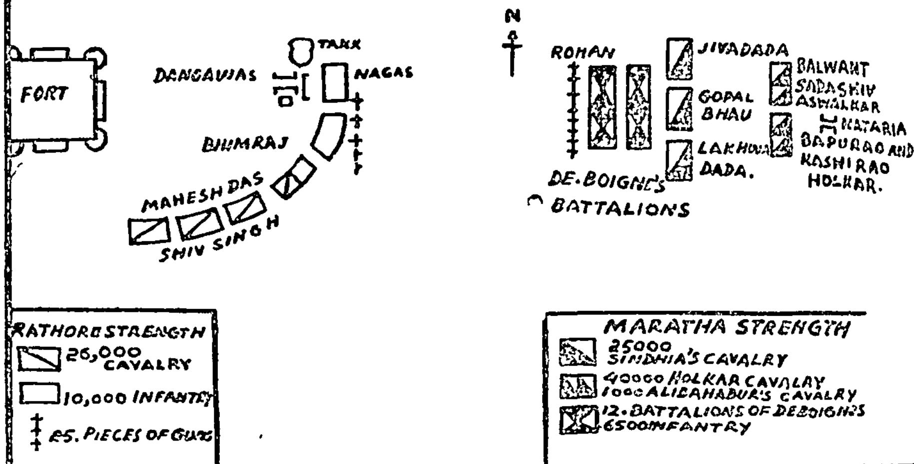


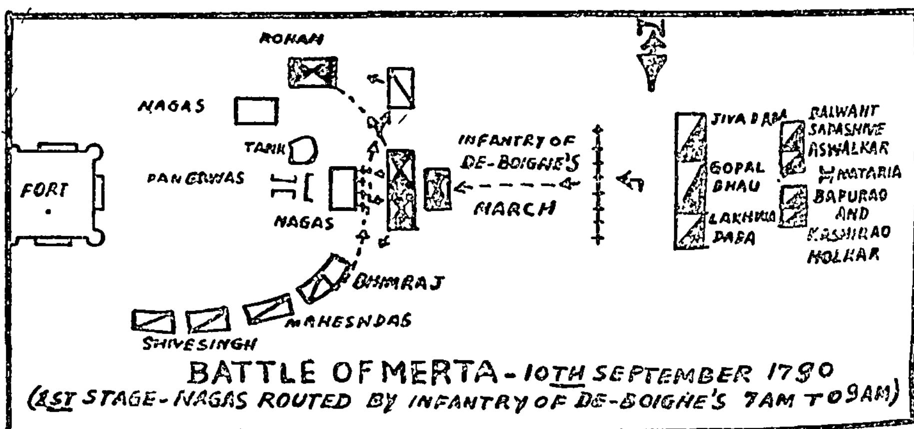
27°
75°
27°
FROM PATAN
SAMBHAR SALT LAKE
SAMBHAR
PARBATSAR
RUPNAGAR
FORT OF MERTA
MERTA
DANGAWAS
NATARIA
KISHANGARH
RIAN
LUNI R.
GOVIND GARH
PISAGAN
AJMER
MAP
OF
MARATHA DE-BOIGNE'S MARCH FROM PATAN TO MERTA
JUNE-SEPT. 1790-A.D
REFERENCE
ROUTE OF MARCH
26°
26°
75°

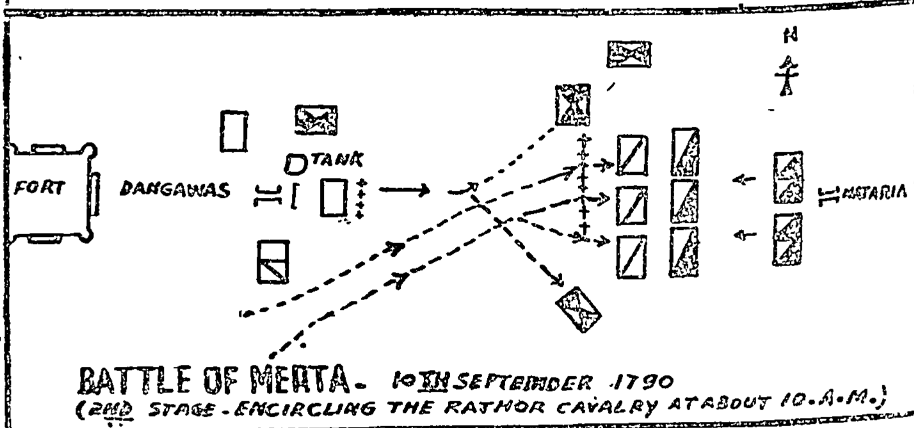
In order to face the situation Sindia devised a plan. He obtained 1,000 and 1,000 cavalry force from Holkar and Ali Bahadur[1] on the promise to share equally the fruits of the conquest over Bijay Singh[2] He sent an army towards Jaipur to neutralise the ruler, in case he moved to join the Rathor forces[3]

Hearing that Rathors had assembled at Merta and were waiting for the junction of Ismail beg Khan and the Jaipur army, Gopal Bhau and De Boigne left the responsibility of the siege of Ajmer fort on two thousand Marathas and a body of trained musketeers, and marched towards Merta through different routes. The main army under Gopal Bhau left Ajmer on September 4, and reached Natara 4 miles east of Merta on September 7 De Boigne proceeded first to the south of Ajmer, then westward and moving towards north by way of Pisagan, Govindgarh Alniawas where he crossed slowly the sandy land of the bed of the river Luni, and Rian reached Natara on September 9 With the joining of this army, Gopal Bhau wanted an immediate attack on the Rathors, who had encamped at Dangawas, three miles west of the Maratha camp, but De Boigne pleaded for a day's rest before his infantry and artillery could be effectively used[4]

1 HP. 574.
2. S.C.C.R. ii 78, 80.
3 HP. 574.
4 HP, 579;
C.P.C Vol. ix 737;
S.C.C.R. ii 79;
Mundiyad Khyat (Bijay Singh) pp 225-226 Basta No. 20.;
Herbert Compton. European Military Adventurers of Hindustan p 60.
Pisagan is about 16 miles S.E. of Ajmer.
Govindgarh is 6 miles north of Pisagan and 16 miles west of Ajmer.
Alniawas is 26°31'N, 74°20'E, about 20 miles S E. of Merta.
Rian is 26°32'N. 74°14'E, about 68 miles N.E. of Jodhpur and 16 miles S E. of Merta.


BATTLE OF MERTA - 10TH SEPTEMBER 1790
ARRANGEMENT OF THE BATTLE FIELD BEFORE ENGAGEMENT (ABOUT 5-30 AM)
N
FORT
TANK
DANGAVIAS
NAGAS
BHIMRAJ
MAHESH DAS
SHIV SINGH
ROHAN
JIVADADA
GOPAL BHAU
LAKHWA DADA.
DE-BOIGNE'S BATTALIONS
BALWANT
SADASHIV
ASWALKAR
NATARIA
BAPURAO AND KASHIRAO HOLKAR.
RATHORE STRENGTH
26,000 CAVALRY
10,000 INFANTRY
25. PIECES OF GUNS
MARATHA STRENGTH
25000 SINDHIA'S CAVALRY
40000 HOLKAR CAVALRY
1000 ALIBAHADUR'S CAVALRY
12. BATTALIONS OF DEBOIGNE'S
6500 INFANTRY


ROHAN
NAGAS
TANK
FORT
PANGAWAS
NAGAS
BHIMRAJ
MAHESNDAS
SHIVESINGH
INFANTRY OF DE-BOIGNE'S
MARCH
JIVA DADA
GOPAL BHAU
LAKHWA DADA
BALWANT
SADASHIVE
ASWALKAR
NATARIA
BAPURAO AND KASHIRAO HOLKAR
BATTLE OF MERTA - 10TH SEPTEMBER 1790
(1ST STAGE - NAGAS ROUTED BY INFANTRY OF DE-BOIGNE'S 7AM TO 9AM)


N
FORT
DANGAWAS
TANK
NATARIA
BATTLE OF MERTA - 10TH SEPTEMBER 1790
(2ND STAGE - ENCIRCLING THE RATHOR CAVALRY AT ABOUT 10.A.M.)

Though some Rathor leaders desired a general movement against the Marathas immediately yet Bhim Raj *Bakhshi* waited, at the orders of the government, for Ismail Khan to join him. The Marathas did not give any time to the Rathors for they opened the offensive in the grey morning of September 10. De Boigne moved forward, came closer to the Rathor left and played havoc on the *Nagas* Confusion in the Rathor rank spread and in an hour's time they dispersed and their artillery was captured. The Rathors were taken unawares. Their generalissimo fled but others did not yield. In the meantime Capt. Rohan of De Boigne's right wing, without the orders of the general, pushed forward towards the tank of Dangawas in order to rout the enemy at close quarters. Finding a gap between him and the rest of De Boigne's infantry, a Rathor force pierced through it and surrounded him. He had a hair breadth *escape,* though wounded As the sun rose high in the sky, the Rathor cavalry of 4,000 strong led by Mahesh Das and Shiv Singh fell on De Boigne's gunners. Caring a little of the fire, they pierced to attack the second line of the *Maratha* cavaliers and farced Gopal Bhau and Jiva Dada to retreat a pace. Finding the situation changed, De Boigne's infantry turned back and forming a square, surrounded the Rathors. Soon the guns, having been turned by this time on the opposite face, began to pour fire on the Rathors. The regiments of Holkar and Ali Bahadur rushed to aid Gopal Bhau and *Jiva Dada*. After two-hours of such breathless exertion, the fury of the Rathor onslaught was spent. The battle had finished by *10 A M* and the city of Merta capitulated at 3 P.M. Marathas lost 900 infantry of De Boigne, 50 Maratha soldiers were killed and 250 wounded. The Rathor casualty was 2,000 killed and 3,000 wounded. Bhim Raj with his 4,000 cavalry had fled to Nagor. Ganga Ram Bhandari with his 2,000 soldiers defended the fort of Merta for four days,

but ultimately surrendered. The Marathas enriched themselves with the valuable spoils.[1]

The discomfiture of the Rathors at the battle of Merta demands a brief consideration. The Rathor defeat at Merta was decisive. They did not fight in a combined effort to push back the onslaught of De Boigne but carried their swords under the individual leaders. Their artillery was weak. The *Nagas* were most undisciplined and untrained. The whole force lacked efficient mobility and rapidity. Though their morale was high and cavalry terrible, yet it could not face the Marathas in a pitched battle. The army arrangements of the Marathas were superior. The generalship of De Boigne was far superior to that of the Rathor counterpart. The Sindia's generals co-oprated with one another and acted without adhering to their individual movements. The Holkar's army, kept at a mile's distance, served as reserve at the time of need. Thus the scientific combination of De Boigne's infantry, artillery and Maratha cavalry proved successful at the fag end of the battle. The defeat of the Rathors could have been changed into victory, had they dealt with the two sections of the Sindia's army separately and had not allowed them to join the first day, September 9. De Boigne could have easily been routed

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HP. 579;
C.P.C. Vol. ix 610, 737;
S.C.C.R. ii 79, 81;
DY. (S) 37;
H.S.I.S. I 293. 302;
MD. ii. 209.
Marwar-Khyat Vol. iii pp. 90-91;
Herbert Compton: European Military Adventurers of Hindustan pp 60-61.
(For the position of the armies from 7 to 10 A.M. see map facing p. 147).
Mundiyad Khyat (Bijay Singh) pp. 235-253. Basta no. 20.

during his slow march in the bed of the river Luni, where the mobility of his artillery was ineffective The Rathor lost another opportunity when they did not fall on the fatigued army of the Marathas and De Boigne on the day of its arrival The initiative taken by their enemies in the early hours of the next day proved fatal and the Rathor lost the day within four hours of fighting

(H) Treaty of Sambhar Jan 5 1791, and its results

(1) Attempts at peace (September 1790 January 1791)

The news of the defeat of their army demoralised the people of Jodhpur, who began to flee fearing the next move of *the Marathas* on the capital [1] Bijay Singh *made preparations* to move either to Jaisalmer or *to* Jalor [2] However, in order to avoid further conflict, on the advice of *Thakur* Sawai Singh, Fateh Singh and Gulab Rai, he sent peace proposals with Vyas Nawal Rai to Mahadaji on September 14 1790 [3] At the same time another delegation under Muhnot Gopal Das, Calla Sukh Ram, Pandit Muthura Nath and Pandit Krishnaji Jagannath, the Peshwa's representative at Jodhpur court was sent to the leaders of the army of Sindia at Merta on September 15 for the same purpose [4]

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1 S C.C.R *ii* 82.
A part of the Maratha force under Jivaji moved towards Jodhpur, after the battle and stayed at Khawaspura (Mundiyad Khyat (Bijay Singh) p 264 Basta No 20 *Jd*

2. Ibid

3 Ibid,
A letter from Khichi Gordhan to Jivaji Pandit dated 6ty day of the bright-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1847/24th Sept 1790 AB Bo 4 pp 161-162 Jd. Mundiyad Khyat (Bijay Singh) p 264 Basta No 20 Jd

4 S C.C.R ii 82
A letter from Khichi Gordhan *to* Jivaji Pandit and Gopal Bhau dated 7th day of the bright-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1847/15th Sep 1790 AB. No. 4. p 162. Jd;
Hakikat Bahi No 5 p 153.

Mahadaji refused to entertain Nawal Rai.[1] Thereupon, Bijay Singh prevailed upon Trimbak Rao and Rane Khan on October 1, to intervene and request Sindia to discuss the peace terms with his envoy.[2] The Peshwa also expressed his desire for a settlement on the basis of the payment of the arrears of the tribute, surrender of the fort of Ajmer and compensation for the losses in the war.[3] Mahadaji quoted high terms. It included[4] an indemnity of rupees two crores thirty five lacs, out of which one crore to be paid in cash. It also included the payment of the tribute and its arrears, the surrender of Ajmer along with its tribute of the last three years during which period it was under the possession of the Rathor Raja, equal share of the tribute for the portion of the territory, which was under Ram Singh formerly and possession of some of the districts of Marwar as a measure of security for the payment of the rest of the indemnity

Bijay Singh's men conveyed to Sindia that their master was prepared to surrender Ajmer and pay its tribute at the rate of three lacs a year amounting to nine lacs of rupees, pay the tribute of Marwar and Godwad and its arrears amounting to fifteen lacs sixty thousand rupees in cash, pay a reasonable compensation of the Maratha losses in the war, give revenue of Sambhar, Nawa and one more district to meet the expenses of the army and losses in the war.[5] However, he refused to share the tribute of the portion of Ram singh and pay one crore rupees

1 Letters from Bijay Singh to Trimbak Rao and Rane Khan dated 8th day of the dark-half of Asvina vs. 1847/1st Oct. 1790 AB. No. 4 p. 64 and p. 99 respectively. Jd.

2. Ibid.

3. JY. 16.

4. Ibid.

5. JY. 17.

in cash.[1] Doubting Sindia's intention for a reasonable settlement, Bijay Singh prepared himself for the worst, in case Sindia attacked again.[2] He called Ismail Beg Khan, who had joined the Rathors at Nagor on the next day of the battle of Merta,[3] and Bhim Raj *Bakhshi* from Nagor.[4] Both reaced Jodhpur on December 16 and 18 respectively with all their forces.[5]

In the meantime, hearing no concrete proposals from the Rathors and finding them preparing for war,[6] Sindia came to Sambhar in the third week of December, 1790.[7] Thereupon Bijay Singh sent another delegation under Budh Singh, Kalyan Das and Bhawani Das Bhandari to wait upon Sindia at Sambhar.[8] Through the services of Aba Chitnis,[9] a settlement was arrived at on January 5, 1791.[10] Accompanied by Sindia's agent Gadhwa

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1 Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3 HP. 597;
S.C.C.R. ii 82;
Selection from Calcutta Gazetteer Vol. ii p. 282.

4. Hakikat Bahi No. 5. pp. 181, 183. *Jd.*

5. Ibid.

6. JY. 16, 18.

7. HP. 586;
DY. (S) 1.

8. JY. 19;
DY. (S) 4.

9 Ibid

10. A letter [illegible]
half [illegible]
The [illegible]
January (letter No. 587) [illegible] regarding Mahadaji Sindia's 6th
The date accepted is 5th January as it is mentioned on the document sent
by Mahadaji to Bijay Singh containing [illegible]
ment. The [illegible]
on the next [illegible]
[illegible] 24 miles off from Ajmer.

Fakirji, the Rathor envoys returned to Jodhpur on January 19.[1] Bijay Singh accepted the settlement and sent its ratification to Mahadaji Sindia on January 24.[2]

(ii) Terms of the treaty of Sambhar.[3]

A. War Indemnity :

1. Rupees 60,00,001 shall be paid to Sindia as war indemnity, *Nazrana*, court expenses and *Khasa-sawari* (reserved conveyance).

2 Out of it, rupees 15,00,001 shall be paid in cash, eight lacs on February 4, 1791 and the rest upto April 4, 1791. Besides it, three lacs worth of *Bharna* (miscellaneous-cattle and jewels) shall be supplied.

3. Rupees 15,00,000 shall be paid to Gopal Rao Raghunath for distribution in the army. Besides it, three lacs worth of *Bharna* shall be supplied to him.

4. Four lacs worth of *Bharna* shall be supplied within two years in equal instalments.

5. Rupees 20,00,000 shall be paid as the payment of the tribute of Nawa, Marot and Parbatsar within a period of four years. The first instalment of it amounting to rupees 2.00,000 shall be paid on June 16, 1791.

1. Hakiket Bahi No. 5. p. 190. Jd.
2. A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji Sindia dated 5th day of the dark-half of Magha vs. 1847/24th Jan. 1791. AB. No. 4 p. 45, Jd.
3. The letters from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 1st day of the bright-half of Pausha vs. 1847/5th Jan. 1791. Pf 6. LN 57,58, and 59. Jd.;
HP. 587;
DY. (S) 4;
JY. 19.

6. If there is regular payment of the arrears of the tribute and amount of the war indemnity, a remission of rupees 2,00,000 shall be allowed.

B. Restoration of the tribute and annexation of places.

Bijay Singh shall

1. Pay the tributes of Marwar and Godwad amounting to rupees 1,50,000 and rupees 30,000 per year respectively from 1791 onwards regularly.
2. Restore Ajmer to Sindia without withdrawing its property.
3. Hand over Sambhar including its lake, Khairwa, Masuda and 29 villages of Bhinai to Sindia.

C. Other terms.

Bijay Singh shall not

1. Interfere in the affairs of the above places and create difficulties for the Maratha tax collectors.
2. Go to war with the ruler of Kishangarh.

D. Maratha promises.

Mahadaji shall

1. Pay the compensation for the losses in the cultivation caused by the movement of the Maratha army passing through Marwar.
2. Not regard the case of the compensation of the losses if the Maratha army moves in Marwar in order to enforce the ruler to honour the deed.

3. Pay the excess amount of the tribute collected by his agents in the territories mentioned above.

4. Not entertain the overtures of help from Zalim Singh, son of Bijay Singh.

Bijay Singh and Mahadaji agreed to respect the agreement arrived at and not to allow their enemies to enter into their respective territories.

A document[1] dated August 20, 1792, indicates that Bijay-Singh was required to send Jodhpur officials of prominence, as hostages, in fulfilment of the terms of the agreement.

The terms of the treaty were complied with immediately. An instalment of rupees four lacs was paid within a short period of a month.[2] Dhan Raj in charge of Ajmer fort, was asked to hand over the fort to Sindia, who occupied it in March, 1791.[3] Officials were sent to the camp of Sindia at Agra as hostages.[4] Sambhar and other places were handed over to the Marathas.[5] On Mahadaji's insistence Ismail Beg was asked to leave Marwar.[6] Bijay Singh secured the help of Mahadaji, in accordance with the terms of treaty against the revolt of his

1. A letter to Pandit Laxman dated 3rd day of the bright-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1849/20th Aug. 1792. AB. No. 4. p. 107. Jd; Marwar-Khyat Vol. iii p. 99.

2 HP. 592.

3. Poona Akhbarat Vol. iii p 142; A MS. History of Ajmer and Jodhpur, p. 73 and p. 147; Marwar-Khyat Vol. iii p. 99.

4. A letter to Pandit Bisram Bhauji dated 6th day of the dark-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1849/8th Aug. 1792. AB. 4 p. 133 Jd.

5. Khas-Rukka Bahi no. 1 p. 76. Jd.

6. Hakikat Bahi No. 5. p. 251 Jd; HP. 600.

son Zalim Singh and the nobles.[1] He, too, honouring the terms, refused in May, 1792, to be a party with Holkar and Jaipur ruler to fight against Sindia.[2] He remained friendly with him and paid regular tributes upto January, 1793.[3] Six months later, he died on July 7, 1793.[4]

The defeat at Merta and the subsquent treaty, imposed on *the Jodhpur* ruler, was a great humiliation for Bijay Singh. He lost his prestige as well as his standing among the rulers of Rajasthan. He had to part with a portion of the fertile land of Marwar. It brought a great drainage of men and money, which created political instability at home, giving rise to the revolts of the nobles. His dominions crippled without adding a single inch of land from the day he attempted to thwart Sindia's dominance in Rajasthan. On the other hand the power of Sindia increased and he was able to secure the surrender of Jaipur ruler in February, 1791[5] and that of the Rana of Udaipur a month later.[6]

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1. A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 10th day of the dark-half of Pausha vs 1848/20th Dec. 1791. AB. No. 4 p. 48, Jd.
2. A letter from Bijay Singh to Pandit Gopal Rao dated 5th day of the dark-half of Jyeshtha vs. 1848/26th May 1792, AB No. 4 p. 122, Jd.
3. A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 2nd day of the bright-half of Magha vs. 1849/14th January 1793. AB. No. pp 49-50.
   A letter from *Bijay Sing to Aba* Chitnis dated 5th day of the bright-half of Magha, vs 1849/16th Jan 1793. AB. No. 4 p. 66. Jd.
4. A letter from Bhim Singh to *Mahadaji dated* 9th day of the bright-half of Ashadha vs. 1849/17th July 1793. AB. No. 4 p. 50. Jd.;
   Hakikat Bahi No. 5. p. 316. Jd;
   JY. 23.
5. C.P.C. Vol. ix 1227, 1344.
6. C.P.C. Vol ix 1346.;
   HP. 599.

CHAPTER V

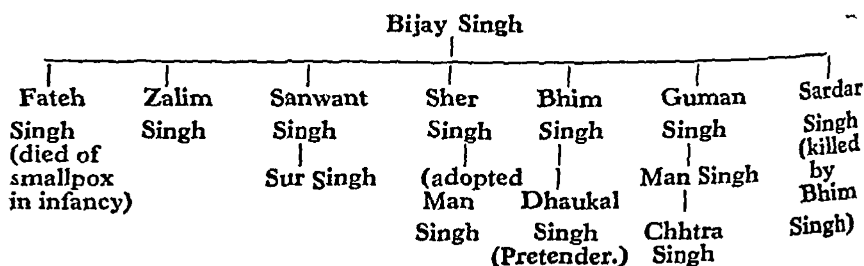
The end of the Maratha influence in Marwar (1793—1818A.D.)

(A) Bhim Singh-Man Sigh struggle (1793-1803 A.D. and Maratha interferance.

During the closing years of Bijay Singh's reign (1791-1793), the succession issue[1] disturbed the political stability of the state, giving rise to court intrigues, revolts of the claimants and political murders. Zalim Singh was the rightful claimant but his claim was bypassed in favour of Sher Singh, the fourth son. His kept woman *Pasban*, Gulab Rai, also put forward the case of Man Singh, son of Guman Singh, adopted by Sher Singh. The latter was declared as heir-apparent and Jalor was bestowed on him by the *Pasban*. The case of Bhim Singh was put forward by a section of the nobles, who threatened Bijay Singh with severe consequences, if the clique of Sher Singh-Man

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1. Geneology based on Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali p.43. Basta no. 28. Jd. is:



Singh patronised by the *Pasban*, was to rule Marwar. As the *Pasban* was unpopular and her standing was weak, Bijay Singh had to incline towards the claim of Bhim Singh but on the eve of his death, he favoured his grandson Sur Singh, rather than Bhim Singh, to succeed him. It led to the intensity of the civil strife dividing the nobility of Marwar into siding one claimant or the other. Gulab Rai was murdered by her opponents. Zalim Singh began to solicit the help from the Marathas and Rana of Udaipur. Bhim Singh threatened to invade the capital.[1]

However, the issue became a straight fight between Man-Singh and Bhim Singh after the death of Bijay Singh. The latter occupied the capital and enthroned himself on July 17, 1793, with the help of the Maratha agents, Dhan Singh, Rama-Rao Sadashiv and Krishnaji Jagan Nath at Jodhpur and the principal nobles led by Sawai Singh of Pokran[2] Man Singh slipped away to Jalor, where he declared himself the ruler of Marwar.[3]

In order to liquidate his rivals, Bhim Singh asked Mahadaji to send Gopal Bhau and Jivaji *Bakhshi* to his help.[4] Ambaji Ingle was also contacted for the same purpose.[5] The Maratha

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1 JY. 20, 21, 24 26;
Marwar-Khyat Vol. iii pp. 99 103

2. A letter from Bhim Singh to Mahadaji dated 9th day of the [illegible] of Ashadha vs 1849/17th July 1799. AB No 4 p. [illegible]
JY. 26,
Marwar-Khyat Vol iii pp. 119-120.

3 JY. 126;
Marwar-Khyat Vol iii pp 121-122,
A letter dated 1st April 1798 sent by Man Singh to [illegible] Singh of Udaipur with his title 'Raj Rajeshwar [illegible]' [illegible] indicating himself as the ruler of [illegible]

4 A letter from Bhim Singh to [illegible] of Ashadha vs 1849/17th July [illegible]

5 A letter from Bhim Singh to [illegible] of Bhadrapada vs. 1850/22nd [illegible]

governor of Ajmer, Shivaji Nana, was requested to proceed to Merta with a strong contingent.[1] Early in 1794, a Maratha force under Jivaji and Laxman Anant (Lakhwa Dada) moved towards Marwar.[2] But a change in the Maratha politics at this stage had prevented Lakhwa Dada from staying in Marwar for long and consolidating Bhim Singh's position.

Mahadaji died on February 12, 1794 and he was succeeded by Daulat Rao Sindia.[3] He appointed Lakhwa Dada, in place of Jivaji *Bakhshi*, to look after the interest of the Marathas in the North India, on his behalf.[4] As such Lakhwa Dada, after a settlement of the payment of his tribute, left Marwar in September, 1794 to take the charge of the new post.[5]

In the meantime Man Singh fortified himself at Jalor, collected 8,000 soldiers and secured the tribute from the territories bordering Therad and Palanpur[6] He also sent his men to Holkar to seek his assistance.[7] He also secured the close co-operation of his uncle Zalim Singh, who had gone to Mewar in order to press Ambaji Ingle for his cause.[8]

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1. A letter from Bhim Singh to Shivaji Nana dated 7th day of the dark-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1850/28th Aug. 1793. AB. No. 4. p. 146. Jd.
2. Letters of Bhim Singh to Mahadaji, Jivaji and Gopal Bhau dated 30th day of the dark-half of Phalguna vs. 1850/1st March 1794. AB. No. 4 p. 51 and p. 124 respectively. Jd;
   JY. 26, 27;
   Marwar-Khyat Vol. iii pp. 120-121.
3. JY. 27.
4. Ibid. 28.
5. A letter from Bhim Singh to Pandit Narayan Rao dated 4th day of the dark-half of Asvina vs. 1851/13th Sept. 1794. AB. No. 4. p. 127. Jd.;
   P.R.C. viii 42, 217.
6. JY. 27.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid. 26.

A Marathi force began its movements towards the *Ghata* in December, 1794.[1] Thereupon Bhim Singh requested Lakhwa Dada to censure Ingle for his activity and keep the Maratha forces beyond Kumbhalgarh.[2] He, on his part, stationed a Rathor force under Shiv Chand at Ghanerao in order to check the advance of any Maratha army from the *Ghata* side. Lakhwa Dada had a different plan, though distant. Taking advantage of the family feud, he wanted to occupy Jodhpur to keep it under Sindia's rule.[4] That is why he evaded the call from Bhim Singh on the pretext that he had not paid the instalment of the tribute.[5]

When Bhim Singh had no hope from the Marathas, he tried to strengthen his position by entering into an alliance with the ruler of the Jaipur[6] and soliciting the aid from Zaman Shah[7] of Afghanistan and the British.[8] But effectively the Marathas could not achieve anything in Marwar as their attention was

1. A letter from Bhim Singh to Pt. Laxman Anant dated 9th day of the bright-half of Pausha vs. 1851/30th Dec, 1794. AB. No. 4. p. 108 Jd.
2. Ibid.
3. A Kharita from Bhim Singh to Partap Singh dated 4th day of the bright-half of Jyeshtha vs. 1852/9th June 1796. Jp;
Marwar-Khyat Vol. iii p. 121.
Ghanerao is 25'14'N 73'32'E, about 4 miles S.S.E. of Desuri.
4. P.R.C. viii 28, 36.
5. A letter from Bhim Singh to Pt. Laxman Anant dated 3rd day of the bright-half of Karttika vs. 1852/14th Nov. 1795. AB. No. 4 p. 110. Jd;
A letter from Bhim Singh to Daulat Rao Sindia dated 14th day of the bright-half of Karttika vs. 1853/25th Nov. 1796. AB. No 4 P 53. Jd;
P.R.C. viii 36.
6. P.R.C. viii 37.
7. Ibid' 36'
8. Public Deptt' Records Vol. xv (press list of Ancient documents obtained from the India office Jan. 1795-June 1797) p. 311.

diverted to the affairs of Mahadaji's widows againt Daulat Ra in between 1798-1799.[1]

Finding the Marathas busy in their affairs, Bhim Sing occupied Sambhar,[2] promised Ambaji Ingle on June 22, 179 his military support[3] against his rival, Lakhwa Dada and assure the ruler of Kishangarh his whole support, in case Lakhwa Dad attempted to invade his territory.[4] This all instigated Lakhw who, having contacted Man Singh for the over-throw of Bhim Singh,[5] marched in April towards Marwar through Jaipur an on April 17,1800, gave a crushing defeat to the combined for ces of the Rathors and the Kachhwahas at Malpura.[6]

Lakhwa Dada could not enjoy the fruits of the victory. He was dislodged from the governorship of the North India and Ambaji Ingle was appointed in his pleace.[7] A rift in the Maratha camp was again created by it. Bhim Singh took advantage of it and offared his hand of friendship to Lakhwa.[8] In May, 1800, an agreement was entered into between Bhim Singh and the fugitive Maratha general, Lakhwa.[9] According to it,

1. P.R.C. viii 74-76; 198.

2. P.R.C. viii 132;
A letter from Bhim Singh to Ambaji Ingle dated 5th day of the dark-half of Ashadha vs. 1855/22nd June 1799. AB. No. 4. p. 73. Jd.

3. A letter from Bhim Singh to Ambaji Ingle dated 5th day of the dark-half of Ashadha vs. 1855/22nd June 1799 AB. No. 4. P. 73. Jd.
A Kharita from the ruler of Kishangarh to Bhim Singh dated 3rd day of the bright-half of Ashadha and 8th day of the dark-half of Asvina vs. 1856/5th July and 22nd Sept. 1799. Pf. No. 4. File No. 8/11 Kh.4 and 5. Jd.

5. P.R.C. viii 168

6. P.R C. ix 8

7. P.R.C. ix 11.

8. Ibid. 14.

9. Ibid.

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1. P.R.C. viii 74-76; 198.
2. P.R.C. viii 132;
A letter from Bhim Singh to Ambaji Ingle dated 5th day of the dark-half of Ashadha vs. 1855/22nd June 1799. AB. No. 4. p. 73. Jd.
3. A letter from Bhim Singh to Ambaji Ingle dated 5th day of the dark-half of Ashadha vs. 1855/22nd June 1799 AB. No. 4. P. 73. Jd.
4. A Kharita from the ruler of Kishangarh to Bhim Singh dated 3rd day of the bright-half of Ashadha and 8th day of the dark-half of Asvina vs. 1856/5th July and 22nd Sept. 1799. Pf. No. 4. File No. 8/11 Kh.4. and 5. Jd.
5. P.R.C. viii 168
6. P.R C. ix 8
7. P.R.C. ix 11.
8. Ibid. 14.
9. Ibid.

Bhim Singh assured a safe asylum to the family of Lakhwa at Jodhpur, in lieu of which the latter agreed to defend Jodhpur if attacked by Sindia's other general, Perron.[1] On the advice of the Lakhwa, Bhim Singh refused to pay the tribute to Perron.[2] In order to dislodge him from Sambhar, where Perron had encamped in June, 1800,[3] Bhim Singh collected a big force at Merta[4] and sent messages to Lakhwa, who was in Mewar at that time, to proceed immediately and join him at Merta in order to march against Perron.[5] The mobilisation of the combined forces compelled Perron to withdraw from Sambhar.[6] Bhim Singh reoccupied Sambhar with Lakhwa's help.[7] He further made his position strong by inviting Jaipur ruler to make a common cause against Perron.[8] However, on the detachment of Dada's force under Jagannath Rao Krishna (Jagu Bapu) to join the widows of Mahadaji in September, Perron returned towards Marwar and in December 1800, forced Bhim Singh to pay the tribute due and reoccupied Sambhar.[9]

In the meatime Man Singh made overtures to the Maharana of Udaipur in 1798, to prevail upon Ambaji Ingle to

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid. 17.
3. A letter from Bhim Singh to Laxman Anant dated 6th day of the dark-half of Ashadha vs. 1856/12th June 1800 AB. No. 4 p. 111 (b). Jd.
4. Ibid.
   P.R.C. ix 19 B.
5. Ibid.
6. P.R.C. ix 19.
7. Ibid. 21;
   A Ms. history of Ajmer and Jodhpur p. 154.
8. Letter dated 14th day of the bright-half of Ashadha vs 1856/July 5,1800, File concerning Khato-Kitab No. 30 (DK) Jd.
9. P.R.C. ix 24; Arzee file No. vi (DK.) Jd.;
   A MS. history of Ajmer and Jodhpur p. 154.

help him. In lieu of it, Man Singh promised to restore Godwad to him after his capture of the capital[1]. When Bhim-Singh was paying his entire attention to meet the danger from Perron, Man Singh marched on Jodhpur in December 1800. He looted Pali on his way. However, Bhim Singh's general Singhvi Chain Karan and Champaot Bahadur Singh defeated him at Sadkade near Pali in January, 1801 and forced him to retreat[2]. Man Singh's position worsened in 1803[3] as he found that no Maratha help was available for they were busy themselves in a war against the British. He, therefore, decided to surrender and as such opened negotiations through Inder Raj Singhvi, the Jodhpur general, on September 16, 1803. But before it could be finalised Bhim Singh died on October 19 Man Singh secured the support of the besieging army and repaired to Jodhpur, which he occupied on November 5, 1803.[4]

(B) Anglo-Maratha wars (1802–1805 A.D.) and Man Singh's role

On the eve of the death of Bhim Singh, the relations of Marwar with Fast India Company began. The British had begun to look towards Marwar as a possible ally in their struggle against the Marathas, for they regarded that the ruler of Jodhpur would be forthcoming to stand by them, as it would help him to restore those districts of which they were dispossessed by

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. Veer Vinod Vol. ii p. 1574.

. Melone Khyat p. 11. Basta No. 40. Jd; Marwar-Khyat Vol. iii pp. 127-128.

3. Marwar-Khyat Vol. iii p. 130. Bhim Singh, being free from Maratha anxiety, sent all his forces towards Jalor in July 1803, which occupied the city of Jalor.

4. Ibid. Vol. iv pp. 1-5.

late Mahadaji[1] But Bhim Singh, being an ally of Sindia, did not respond to it.[2] Sindia could not stand successfully against the British and his forces were defeated at Assaye on September 24 and at Laswari on November 1, 1803

In the meantime, after the death of Bhim Singh, Man Singh had occupied Jodhpur He judged the situation and entered into treaty negotiations with the British with the sole objective that he would be helped against Sindia[3] He also sounded Holkar and sent his envoys Bhandari Kalyan Das and Gehlot Jiwan Das on December 6, to wait upon Jaswant Rao[4] He got the response and Pandit Balwant Rao was sent by him to Jodhpur[5] He met Man Singh on January 10, 1804[6] After protracted negotiations for seven days, agreements were drawn up between Man Singh and Jaswant Rao against the British power, with whom Holkar had no good relations

According to the *Qualnama*[7] of January 17, Holkar assured Man Singh that he would prevail upon Daulat Rao Sindia and *Sanads* would be secured from him by which he could cede Ajmer and Sambhar to Jodhpur He also agreed that the settlement with Jaipur would be finalised in the presence of

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1 M M Vol iii pp 169-170, 235, 241-242,
P R C vi : 123

2 A letter from Bhim Singh to Daulat Rao dated 3rd day of the bright half of Asvina vs 1860/19th September 1803 AD No 4 p 55 Jd

3 P R C, xi 141
Aitchison : T E S Vol, iii pp 126-127 (Terms of the treaty).

4 Hakikat Bahi No 8 444 Jd

5 Ibid p 450

6. Ibid

7 Qualnama (Copy) of Jaswant Rao Holkar to Man Singh dated 5th day of the bright half of Magha vs 1860/17th Jan 1804 AD, No 51 p 106, Jd (See Appendix C')

the Rathor chief. By the agreement of February 2,[1] Man Singh promised to send Holkar a Rathor force for his help and offered a safe asylum to his family at Jodhpur.

In accordance with the agreement, Man Singh sent a Rathor force towards Jaipur,[2] whither Holkar had marched from Ajmer.[3] He invited the family of Holkar in April, 1804, to come to Jodhpur and stay there.[4] In responee to which the family arrived in June, 1805.[5] The party consisted of Holkar's two wives, Tulsi Bai and Laka Bai, Khande Rao, son of Malhar Rao, Hari Rao, nephew of Jaswant Rao[6] and Holkar's daughter, Bhima Bai.[7] It was also attached with a retinue of Ganpat Rao, Pandit Vayaji Faradnavis, Hari Singh Kumedar, Raja Ram, Babia Mayaji and Nino Machand[8] along with a small artillery.[9] Man Singh procured a safe place at Chenpura to encamp Holkar's family[10] and their party. A cordial reception was given to the party and formality of the right of exchange of *Rakhi* was also

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1. Qualnama (Copy) from Man Singh to Jasvant Rao Holkar dated 6th day of the dark-half of Phalguna vs, 1860/2nd Feb. 1804. AB. No. 5 p. 107. Jd.
2. A letter from Jagat Singh of Jaipur to Daulat Rao dated 2nd day of the bright-half of Sravana vs. 1861/7th Aug. 1804. (KS), Jd.
3. Marwar Khyat Vol. iv p. 14.
4. A letter from Bhandari Ganga Ram to Jasvant Rao Holkar dated 13th day of the dark-half of 2nd Chaitra vs. 1860/9th April 1804. AB. No. 5. p. 105. Jd.
5. H.S.I.S. ii 70.
6. Hakikat Bahi no. ix pp. 3-4. Jd.
7. H.S.I.S. Vol. ii. 70.
8. Hakikat Bahi No. 9 pp. 3-4. Jd.
   Later on. Pt. Balaji, Dewan Dulah Raj and Pt. Trimbak Rao also joined the party (Hakikat Bahi No. 9 p. 22).
9. Ibid. p. 3.
10. Ibid. p. 2. Chenpura is six miles north of Jodhpur, now a suburb of it.

observed by Man Singh [1] For the support of the party, he bestowed the villages of Bhasudi, with a revenue of rupees 4 000 and Rugoli with a revenue of rupees 2 000 in Godwad permanently [2] The family of Holkar stayed there for about a period of four years [3] When favourable conditions were restored, it left Jodhpur in July, 1809, to join Holkar.[4]

In the meantime, in order to please Holkar Man Singh refused to ratify the treaty with the British,[5] negotiated in December, 1803 He sent a considerable force in September, 1805 to join Holkar near Ajmer [6] It enraged the British They supported Sindia's claim on Jodhpur [7] Consequently Daulat Rao's position was strengthened and he threatened the Rathor capital with an invasion [8] As Man Singh could not get any help from Holkar, he agreed to Sindia's terms for the payment of the tribute [9]

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1 Ibid pp 3 4 37
Marwar Khyat Vol iv p 14

2. Hakikat Bahi No 9 p 37 Jd

3 Ibid p 22
P R C xl 185

4 Hakikat Bahi no 9 pp 3-4 Jd

5 A letter from Secretary to G G, to Malcolm, Resident with Sindia dated 9th May 1804 F.S 6th Sept 1904. No 67
prinsep's History of Pol and Mil transactions in India Vol I p 7

6 P R C. XI 134

7 M M Vol II p 593

8 P R C. XI 134

9. P R C. xi 1341
A letter from Man Singh to Daulat Rao dated 8th day of the bright-half of Pausha vs 1862/29th Dec 1805 AB No 5 pp 6-7 Jd

(C) Krishna Kumari episode and Maratha intervention

The estrangement between Man Singh and Daulat Rao Sindia came to an end at the close of the year 1805, but a quarrel between Jaipur and Jodhpur brought about a fresh interference from the Marathas in Marwar. It began with the marriage problem of Krishna Kumari, daughter of Bhim Singh of Udaipur. She was betrothed to Bhim Singh of Jodhpur,[1] but he died before the marriage in 1803. His cousin, Man Singh sent overtures for marriage with Krishna Kumari to the Maharana, but they were rejected by him[2] on the moral ground that his brother was betrothed to her and on political grounds that he (Man Singh) had unrightfully occupied Khalirao, the fief of Mewar.[3] The Maharana, then, engaged her with Jagat Singh, the ruler of Jaipur,[4] who sent an escort of 3,000 troops to Udaipur to convey the Princess to Jaipur for solemnization of the nuptials.[5]

Man Singh regarded it as his personal insult. In order to take vengeance against the Rana of Udaipur, he encamped at Dangawas near Merta in January, 1806 and collected a large Rathor army,[6] which was further strengthened by the forces of

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1. Malcolm : Memoris of Central India Vol. I p. 330.
   Marwar Khyat Vol. iv p. 27.
2. Marwar Khyat Vol. iv p. 27; Malcom. Vol. I p. 331;
   Wilson : Vol. vii p. 60.
3. Qanungo's Chapter on 'Memoirs of Amir Khan Pindari by Basawan Lal' in 'Historical Essays' p. 131.
4. Marwar Khyat iv pp. 27-28.
   Malcolm : Memoirs of Central India Vol. i p. 331;
   Tod : Vol. ii p. 1082;
   Wilson Vol. vii p. 60.
5. P.R.C. xi 136;
   Wilson Vol. vii p. 60.
6. Hakikat Bahi No. 9. p. 48.



Man Singh, Jodhpur

Holkar, lying at Chenpura.[1] He also wrote to Holkar, who was in the Punjab at that time to despatch 7,000 force immediately[2] He also solicited the help of Sindia [3] with a promise to render Rathor service to him, if he, at any time took arms against the British [4] He also assured him a safe asylum to his family, in that case at Jodhpur and would bear all expenses, besides paying regular tribute [5] He further undertook the responsibility of bringing about a compromise between him and Holkar [6] In order to show his sincerity, he sent immediately the instalment of the tribute amounting to rupees 1 50,000 to Sindia [7] In the meantime, Man Singh had despatched a Rathor force under his generals, Inder Raj and Suraj Mal in response to a call from Sirji Rao Ghatka, Sindia's minister in Mewar, to join him [8] On the way, this force intercepted the nuptial gift of Jaipur near Shahpura in February, 1806.[9]

Sindia, too, proceeded to Mewar [10] Though he assured Man Singh of his friendship through Pandit Sukh Ram, he did

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1 Ibid

2 A letter from Man Singh to Tantiya Madho Rao dated 12th day of the bright half of Magha vs 1862/31st Jan 1805 AB No 5 p 116 Jd.

3 A letter from Man Singh to Daulat Rao dated 9th day of the bright-half of Magha vs 1862/29th Jan 1806 AB No 5 pp 3-4 Jd

4 Ibid

5 Ibid

6 Ibid

7 Copy of the receipt of the payment of the tribute to Sindia through Pt. Balaji dated 7th day of the dark half of Chaitra vs 1862 11th March, 1806, AB No 5 p 96 Jd

8 Hakikat Bahi No 9 p 49 Jd
A letter from Man Singh to Sirji Rao Ghatka dated 3rd day of the bright-half of Phalguna vs. 1862 21st Feb 1806 AB No 5 p 64 Jd.

9. Marwar-Khyat Vol iv pp 27-28,
Tod : Vol. ii p 1083
Wilson : Vol vii p 61

10 P R C. xi 162

not desire to support the cause of Jodhpur against justice.[1] He played the role of a mediator for sometime by proposing to the Maharana to give one daughter each to Jodhpur and Jaipur ruler.[2] But it was not liked by Jagat Singh.[3] Sindia then pressed Jagat Singh for the tribute.[4] It led the Jaipur ruler to negotiate with Man Singh on the basis of marrying his sister to him.[5] All talks of Krishna Rumari's marriage with Jaipur ruler for sometime were withheld.[6]

In response to Man Singh's request to Holkar, Jasvant Rao arrived at Sambhar from the Punjab on May 5, 1806, and on the pretext of the demand of the tribute, he began to create disturbances in the territory of the Kachhwaha ruler.[7] Jagat Singh approached Man Singh to intervene and settle the amount of the tribute to be paid to Holkar.[8] Sindia, in lieu of his obligation for forcing the ruler of Udaipur to retract his assent of marriage of his daughter to Jaipur,[9] asked Man Singh to try to effect a reconciliation with Holkar.[10]

Man Singh undertook to meet Holkar.[11] It was further necessiated by the political problems at home. The two years'

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1. *Ibid.*
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. 156.
6. *Ibid;*
   Marwar-Khyat Vol. iv p. 29;
   Wilson : Vol. vii p. 61.
7. P.R C. xi 168;
   Malcolm : Memoirs of Central India Vol. I p. 241.
8. P.R C. xi 168.
9. Wilson : Vol. vii p, 61.
10. P.R.C. xi 178.
11. Ibid. 168.

rule o. Man Singh had alienated some of his feudal chiefs and led by Sawai Singh of Pokran, they were putting up the claim of Dhonkal Singh, son of Bhim Singh, to the throne of Jodhpur [1] Man Singh had hoped all assistance from Holkar, who was obliged to come to his aid in lieu of the safe asylum given by the Rathor chief to his family after his debacle at Dig As such, he proceeded from his the then post, Alniawas, on June 22, 1806, to meet Holkar [2] Holkar leaving his army at Hurmara, had come near Pushkar and encamped at the village Tilore [3] The two met at the village Nid on June 23 [4] The subsequent meetings were also attended by Sirji Rao Ghatka, Jaipur Dewan Rai Ratan Lal Amir Khan and Ayasji Maharaj [5] A close relationship between Man Singh and Jasvant Rao Holkar was established as they dined together on the same table [6] But Amir Khan showed indifference towards Man Singh, and he left the camp immediately and stayed at Ajmer.[7] The talks lasted upto October 23 1806.[8]

1 P.R C. xi Introduction p xiv;
Marwar Khyat Vol iv pp 30-31,
File concerning Amal-Ki Chithi No 7 (DK) Jd
The son was born after the death of Bhim Singh.
(Marwar Khyat Vol iv p 2)

2 Hakikat Bahi No 9 p 73 Jd

3 Hakikat Bahi No 9 p 7 . Jd
Prinsep : Memoirs of Amir Khan p 298

4 Hakikat Bahi No 9 p 74 Jd

5 P R C XI 183
Hakikat Bahi No 9 pp 77, 78 79;
Prinsep : Memoirs of Amir Khan pp 298-299

6 Hakikat Bahi No 9 p 78 Jd

7 Ibid p 79;
Prinsep : Memoirs of Amir Khan p 299

8 P R C. XI 203;
Holkar's family also visited along with Man Singh and left on the day, Man Singh left Nid in October for Jodhpur

Man Singh failed in his efforts to remove the differences of Holkar and Sindia.[1] The Jaipur representative tried to evade the payment of the settled tribute but the stern attitude of Holkar made him pay the amount.[2] Rai Ratan Lal also agreed to close down the quarrel with Man Singh over the marriage of Krishna Kumari. Instead he agreed to Holkar's suggestion that Man Singh would marry Jaipur ruler's sister and the Jaipur ruler would marry Man Singh's daughter,[3] Regarding Holkar's support to Man Singh against Dhonkal Singh or on his subsequent estrangement with Jaipur ruler on the problem of the marriage of Krishna Kumari, Holkar agreed to help the Rathor chief.[4]

In the meantime, Holkar's army at Hurmara clamoured for the payment of the arrears and to press compliance it detained his nephew Khande Rao.[5] However, Holkar was able to rescue his nephew with the help of Rathor force brought with him from Nid meeting and pay a little ransom to the mutineers.[6] It brought about the desertion of his Hydrabad *Risala*.[7] Immediately after it, he marched towards Ramsar.[8]

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1. P.R.C. Xi 185;
Holkar refused to relinquish his claim to an equal share of the tribute from Udaipur.
2. P.R.C. xi 201.
The amount settled was rupees 15,00,000 gross (P.R.C. xi 185).
3. A letter from Thakur Das to British Resident at Delhi dated 14th January 1807 No. 4; F. S. 28th Jan. 1807 No. 4;
Prinsep : Memoirs of Amir Khan p. 299.
4. A letter from A. Seton to Secretary to G. G. dated 12th January, 1807. F.S. 29th Jan. 1807 No. 13 A.
5. P.R.C. xi 197, 204.
6. Ibid;
Prinsep : Memoirs of Amir Khan pp. 302-303.
7. P.R.C. xi 204.
8. Ibid. 206.

But hardly had he proceeded towards Shahpura, when he was informed by Man Singh not to move to a great distance as he feared Jaipur ruler's aggressive designs on him again [1]

The Jaipur ruler strengthened his position by absorbing the Hydrabad *Risala* of Holkar into his army.[2] He also entered into an alliance with Amir Khan [3] In order to remove his main rival, Man Singh, from his way, he gave asylum to Dhonkal Singh, the candidate for Jodhpur throne and his partisan, Sawai Singh of Pokran [4] He was also joined by Surat-Singh of Bikaner.[5] Sindia was also brought to his side.[6] With this strength on his side Jagat Singh violated the earlier agreement with Man Singh by expressing his desire to marry Krishna Kumari [7] By November, 1806, the political horizon in Jaipur was so coloured that a rupture with Man Singh was inevitable [8] The mobilisation of Jaipur forces in December, 1806, threatened Man Singh with an invasion on Marwar [9]

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1 Ibid 208

2 Ibid 204 211

3 Ibid 204 212;
Prinsep : Memoirs of Amir Khan p 307

4 P R C xi Introduction p xv, xi 210
Malcolm : Memoirs of Central India Vol I p 333

5 P R C xi 216;
Prinsep : Memoirs of Amir Khan p 312

6 P R C xi 216
The Jaipur ruler took the responsibility to pay the tribute of Dhonkal Singh also if Sindia sided him His own payment of the tribute was rupees ten lacs

7 P R C. xi 204

8 P R C. xi 208

9 A letter from Man Singh to Jaswant Rao Holkar dated 1st day of the 2nd half of Pausha v.s. 1863 26th Dec 1806. [illegible]

Man Singh sent his repeated requests to Holkar to join him immediately.[1] At first, Holkar put the pressure on the Rana of Udaipur that, if he did not encourage Jaipur Raja's views on marriage,[2] he would keep himself away from assisting either parties.[3] But the mobilisation of Jaipur forc s made him march towards Ajmer and Kishangarh with the intention of joining Man Singh.[4] when the Jaipur *Vakil* waited on him with an offer of rupees four lacs if he withdrew, he rejected it and warned him not to attack Man Singh, for it would mean an attack on him [5]

The Jaipur ruler did not yield. Ignoring Holkar,[6] he publicly recognised Dhonkal Singh as the head of the Rathor state of Jodhpur on January 17.[7] He rejected Man Singh's offer of a compromise on moderate terms[8] and proceeded towards Sambhar.[9] But soon he was perturbed at the moveme-nt of Holkar towards Parbatsar, a distance of twelve miles,[10] where Man Singh lay encamped,[11] and at the news that Man Singh had sent his *Vakils* with two lacs of rupees to Holkar in order

1. Ibid.
   He again sent a letter dated 8th day of the dark half of Pausha vs. 1863/1st Jan. 1807. AB. No. 5. p. 103. Jd.
2. P.R.C. xi 209.
3. Ibid.
4. P.R.C. xi 213.
5. A letter from A Seton to Secretary to G. G. dated 12th January 1807. F. S. 29th Jan. 1807. No. 13 A.
6. An Arzee from Rai Ram Singh, Jaipur Vakil to the British resident, Delhi received on 7th February 1807. F. S. dated 12th Feb. 1807. No. 97.
7. A letter from A Seton to N. B. Edmonstone dated 20th Jan. 1807. F. P. 5th Feb. 1807. No. 127.
8. A letter from A Seton to N. B. Edmonstone dated 15th Jan. 1807. F. P. 29th Jan. 1807. No. 32.
9. Ibid'
11. Ibid-dated 29th Jan. 1807. F. P. dated 12th Feb. 1807 No. 96.
12. Ibid.

to bring him onwards to Jaipur camp at Alisur [1] Holkar's next move towards Sambhar on February 4 unnerved Jagat Singh [2] He offered him on February 6, rupees ten lacs on the condition that the bills of the amount would be encashed at Kota [3] Holkar agreed and leaving a part of his army to join Man Singh,[4] rushed towards Kota [5]

The attitude of Holkar throughout this period was guided by his personal motives He did not care to help Man Singh at any stage However, he exploited the Jodhpur Jaipur differences for his gains His pretentions, as a friend and ally of Man Singh were put to pressure on Jagat Singh to pay him the maximum As soon as he got it, he withdrew from the theatre of action

The withdrawal of Holkar weakened the position of Man Singh and he was not successful when Jagat Singh, with the forces of Amir Khan [6] made an attack on him at Parbatsar on March 19, 1807.[7] He fled from the field, intending to go to Jalor but changed his mind and retired to Jodhpur on March 21.[8] The invading army, carrying Dhonkal Singh, pushed onwards to Jodhpur by way of Nagor, which it captured [9]

1 Ibid

2 Ibid-10th Feb 180- F P 26th Feb 1807 No 29.

3 Ibid

4 P R C. xi 224

5 A letter from A Seton to N B Edmonstone dated 6th March 1807 F P dated 19th March 1807 No 211
P R C. xi 224

6 A letter from A Seton to N B Edmonstone dated 1st March 1807 F S 19th March 1807 No 3

7 Ibid-dated 23rd March 1807 F. P, 9th April 1807 No 231
P R C xi 225

8 Ibid

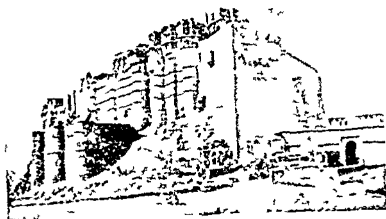
9 P. R C. xi 227

The capital was besieged on April 2.[1] A fortnight later, on April 16, it fell to the invaders. who then moved to capture the fort.[2] The authority of Dhonkal Singh was completely established all over Marwar,[3] except on fort, which Man Singh refused to surrender and retired to Jalor.[4] Completely detached and isolated, Man Singh commenced a series of contacts with the British Resident Alexender Seton at Delhi.[5] The Jodhpur envoy, Fateh Ram Vyas proposed to him that Jodhpur should be taken under British protection.[6] The Resident politely rejected the proposal.[7]

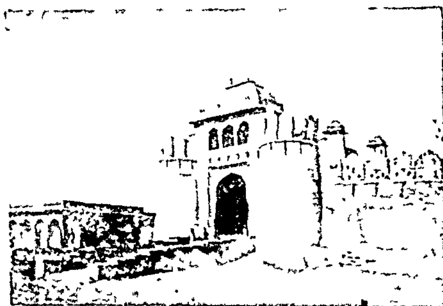
The prospects of success for Jaipur were also not favourable. The scarcity of fodder and water began to tell upon the invading forces.[8] On Man Singh's appeal to his chiefs to

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1. Ibid. 228.
2. A letter from A. Seton to N. B. Edmonstone dated 24th Apail 1807. F. P. 7th May 1807. No. 22;
   P. R. C. xi. 230.
3. A letter from A. Seton to N. B. Edmonstone dated 11th April 1807. F. P. 30th April 1807 No' 28;
   A letter from Sawai Singh to Budh Singh dated 4th day of the dark-half of Vaisaka 1867/April 26, 1807.
   File of Amal-Ki-Chithi no. 7. (DK.) Jd.
4. P. R. C. xi 230.
   A proposition of such a nature was rejected by Man Singh.
5. A letter from A. Seton to N. B. Edmonstone dated 20th Feb. 1807. F. P. 12th March 1807. No. 26.
6. A letter from N. B. Edmonstone to A. Seton dated 12th Mareh 1807. F. P. 12th March 1807. No. 28.
7. A letter from A. Seton to N.B. Edmonstone dated 20th Feb' 1807. F.P. 12th March 1807. No. 26.
   In reality, the British desired that Amir Khan should commit all sorts of excess, for they looked to the disputes and wars of its neighbours as one of the chief sources of British Government's security in India (B.D. Basu : Rise of the Christian power in India Vol. iv pp. 20, 168).
8. P.R.C. Xi 232.



Jodhpur Fort



Nagore Fort



Jalore Fort

such overtures to Bapuji Sindia, in order to create a rift between him and Ambaji, but Bapuji did not agree to the proposal to liquidate Sawai Singh.[1] Taking Inder Raj Singhvi[2] with him and calling Ingle's enemy, Sirji Rao Ghatka to his side,[3] Amir-Khan made a dash towards Jaipur via Pushkar,[4] so as to divert Jaipur pressure on Man Singh. A Jaipur force under Sheo Lal pursued and defeated him and his allies on August 3,[5] but Amir Khan retaliated on August 18, with success.[6] The capture of Jaipur by Amir Khan[7] forced Jagat Singh to raise the siege on September 4,[8] and rush to save his capital. Dhonkal-Singh was left under the care of Sawai Singh, Bapuji Sindia and Jean Baptiste at Nagor.[9] Ambaji Ingle accompanied him to Jaipur,[10] where they reached in October 1807.[11] He was not, then, in a position to continue the war. As such he began peace moves with Man Singh through the mediatory of Amir-

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1. P.R.C. xi 235, 236.
2. A letter from Man Singh to Sirji Rao Ghatka dated 13th day of the dark-half of Asvina vs. 1864/29th Sept. 1807. AB. No. 5. p. 65 Jd.
3. Khas Rukka Bahi No. 2. p. 3. Jd.; P.R.C. xi 237.
4. A letter from A. Seton to N. B. Edmonstone dated 9th Aug 1807 F. P. 1st Sept. 1807 No. 6 A.
5. P.R.C. xi 237.
6. A letter from A. Seton to N. B. Edmonstone dated 21st August 1807 F. P. 8th Sept 1807 No. 13 A.
7. Ibid; Tod: Vol. ii p. 1087.
8. Khas Rukka Bahi No. 2 p. 7. Jd.
9. A letter from A. Seton to N.B. Edmonstone dated 8th Oct. 1807. F. P. dated 26th Oct. 1807 No. 20.; P.R.C. Xi 238.
10. A letter from A. Seton to N.B. Edmonstone dated 8th October 1807. F P. dated 26th Oct. 1807. No. 20
11. Ibid.

Khan.[1] Having concluded peace Amir Khan retired to Jodhpur on October 19, 1807, along with Sirji Rao Ghatka.[2] Later on, he was joined by Mookhtar-ood-Daula Mohammad Khan, the captain of his artillery, at Jodhpur in December, 1807.[3]

Though the danger of Jaipur invasion passed yet Dhonkal Singh, assisted by Bapuji Sindia and Jean Baptiste at Nagor, was a living problem for Man Singh.[4] Amir Khan was bound by the earlier agreement to put an end to Dhonkal Singh and his patron, Sawai Singh.[5] According to the agreement Man Singh had agreed to pay rupees 4,50,000, bestow on him a *Jagir* worth rupees four lacs for kitchen expenses and take his brigade into his permanent service.[6] Man Singh employed the brigade under Mookhtar ood-Daula under different terms with the captain.[7] The latter agreed to keep 10,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 125 pieces of field artillery. He also promised to serve at all times and at all places, directed by the Rathor chief.[8] In lieu of it, Man Singh agreed to pay him rupees 1,50,000 every month and he allotted a *Jagir* to him in the *tehsil* of Nawa.[9]

To execute his promise, Amir Khan left Jodhpur on December 29 1807 and marched to Nagor.[10] Later on he was

1. P R C. XI. 243
2. Hakikat Bahi no 9. p 86 Jd
3. Ibid p 90
4. P R C. XI 243
5. Ibid 236.
6. Malcolm: The Political History of India Vol I p. 234; Prinsep: Memoirs of Amir Khan p 324; Wilson: Vol vii p 64 ff. 3
7. Hath Bahi No 3 pp. 42-43. Jd
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Hakikat Bahi No. 9 p. 91 Jd. P R C. XI. 243.

political pressure, the Maharaja might come to terms. Man Singh anticipated such a move. He made all preparations to meet Sindia. A Rathor force, under Bhandari Kan Mal and Kalu Ram was sent to defend the frontiers near Ajmer.[1] Hira Singh was asked to join this force.[2] Messages were sent to Amir Khan to return to Marwar along with the forces of Holkar.[3] The differences with Jaipur ruler were settled and an alliance of mutual help between them was entered into.[4] Mookhtar-ood-Daula was directed to move towards Merta along with his 10,000 men, 6,000 cavalry and field artillery.[5] Accordingly he proceeded towards Ajmer and encamped in its vicinity on February 22, 1810.[6]

However, Sindia did not come to Marwar, as he had to go to Ajmer, where the revolt of his general Bale Rao Ingle,[7] had drawn his attention. It moderated his pressure on Man Singh,[8] with whom he was prepared to come to any compromise provided the Rathor Chief broke away from Amir Khan and promised to help him with an army in future.[9] Thereupon,

1. Hakikat Bahi No. 9. p. 162. Jd.;
P.R.C. xi 290;

2. Hakikat Bahi No. 9. p. 159. Jd.;
P.R.C. Xiv 12, 18;
Prinsep : History of the Pol. and Mil. transaction in India Vol. I p. 50.

3. P.R.C. Xiv I.

4. A letter from Inder Raj to Rai Ratan Lal dated 14th day of the bright-half of the Sravana vs 1866/24th August 1809, (KS). Jp.;
P.R.C. Xiv 12.

5. P.R.C. Xiv 18.

6. Ibid. 20, 21.

7. P.R.C, Xi 290; Xiv 1.

8. P. R. C. Xiv 1.

9. P.R.C. xi 290.

Man Singh sent his *Vakils* to Sindia,[1] who entertained the moderate terms offered.[2] Having appointed Bapuji Sindia, in place of Bale Rao, as the governor on January 27, 1810,[3] Daulat Rao left Ajmer on February 7, for his country.[4]

The long struggle between Jodhpur and Jaipur for the hand of Krishna Kumari had its adverse effects. It exhausted both the states economically and financially. Both secured the support of the Marathas and Amir Khan for their cause, giving opportunities to them to ravage their states and drain their treasuries with no tangible results. Realising it, though late, both the rulers promised that none would marry Krishna Kumari. They further agreed that Jodhpur and Jaipur houses would enter into a matrimonial alliance, by the marriage of Man Singh's daughter with Jagat Singh, who would give his sister to Man Singh in marriage.[5] They also executed a treaty of friendship and of mutual defence in April, 1810.[6] At the insistence of Amir Khan, in connivance with Man Singh[7]

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1 P R C Nis 4

2 Ibid

3 Ibid 18

4 Ibid 19

5 A letter from A Seton to N B Edmonstone dated 6th June 1810 F P dated 21st June 1810 No 42 Fateh Ram Vyas, the Vakil of Jodhpur at Delhi tried to persuade British Resident witness the pact as a kind of British guarantee for its observance by the parties but A Seton refused for obvious reasons to put his signature to it (A letter from A Seton to N B, Edmonstone dated 19th June 1810 F P dated 7th July 1810 No 37)

6, P R C Nis 30

7 Ibid 30
Marwar-Khyat Vol iv p 59;
Veer Vinod Vol ii pp 1738-1739
However Tod (Vol, I pp 539-541) and Prinsep (Memoirs of Amir Khan p 192) exonerated Man Singh of the responsibility of the murder. Wilson supports this view (Vol, vii p 63) Marwar Khyat that "

Krishna Kumari was forced to take poison in August 1810.[1] The struggle also established the hegemony of Amir Khan over Marwar. Man Singh became his subsidiary ally.[2] He gave *jagirs* to him for his subsistence,[3] His brigade was parmanently stationed at Jodhpur,[4]

(D) The Pindaris and Marwar.

Marwar remained free from the inroads of the Marathas throughout the years 1811-1812[5] As it is clear from the report of Strachey, British Resident with Sindia, to the Governor General on May 11, 1812, that it was in a state of tranquility.[6] However, Amir Khan's influence increased in Marwar. He distributed the land of Merta to his adherents.[7] He occupied Ghanerao, which was conferred upon him by Man Singh in February, 1811.[8] He revisited Jodhpur in October,[9] and got a levy of rupees two lacs from Man Singh.[10] He again paid a

Singh gave a free hand to Amir Khan to deal with the Maharana in this matter. He also deputed two of his high officials, Bhandari Prithvi Raj and Pancholi Anop Ram to advise the Khan (Vol. iv p. 58).

1. Ibid.
2. P.R.C. xi Introduction p. xiv;
3. P.R.C. xiv 27. Amir Khan was assigned jagirs in Nawa yielding a minimum of rupees 3 lacs.
4. Ibid. 34.
5. P.R.C. xiv 59, 115.
6. Ibid. 115.
7. Tod: Vol. ii p. 1091.
8. A letter from Man Singh to Amir Khan dated 1st day of the bright-half of Phalguna vs. 1867/24th Feb. 1811. AB. No. 5. p. 120. Jd.
9. A letter from Metcalfe to J. Adams dated Nov. 7, 1811 F, P. Nov. 29, 1811 No. 16.
10. S. P. D. XXXXi 50.

short visit to Jodhpur in August, 1812.[1] This time he collected rupees three lacs from Man Singh[2] and later on, on a call from Daulat Rao to join him at Jaipur, he left Marwar in October, with a Rathor cavalry and Muhammad Khan.[3]

In the meantime, Marwar was threatened by the Talpura ruler of Sind, who had occupied Umarkot in early months of 1813.[4] Bapuji Sindia entered into the territory and plundered the eastern part of Marwar in January, 1814.[5] He pressed for the payment of the instalments of the tribute to Sindia.[6] In order to get himself relieved of such a situation, Man Singh invited Amir Khan to his assistance.[7] Though Amir Khan promised Man Singh that he would effect a reconciliation between him and the Nawab of Sind,[8] yet he could not come as he was busy in the affairs at Jaipur and Bundi.[9] Man Singh had no alternative but to request the British again to give him help by reviving the treaty of 1803.[10] The British showed their

1 P.R C. Xiv 128

2 Ibid. 136

3 Ibid.

4 A letter from Metcalfe to J Adams dated 28th April 1813. F P 15th May 1813. No. 17;
P.R.C. Xiv pp. 225-226

5 A letter from Man Singh to Daulat Rao dated 10th day of the dark-half of Magha, vs 1870 16th Jan 1814. AB. No 5 p 16 Jd

6. Ibid-dated 7th day of the bright half of Phalguna, vs 1870/26th Feb 1814 AB No 5 p. 16 JJ,

7 A letter from Metcalfe to J Adams dated 28th April 1813 F. P 15th May 1813 No. 17

8 P.R C. Xiv p 226.

9 P R C. Xiv 171.

10. A letter from Metcalfe to J Adams dated 3rd April 1814 F. P. 22nd April 1814 No. 11.

inability as they were bound by their treaties with Sindia and Holkar regarding intereference in Jodhpur affairs.[1]

To take an advantage of such a situation, Muhammad Khan, who had gone to Jaipur along with Amir Khan in October, 1812.[2] came back with his army and began to devastate the territory round Merta on the pretext that Man Singh had not paid the money[3] Man Singh tried to pacify him by asking his *Dewan* Inder Raj Singhvi to pay him rupees 50 000 immediately.[4] Not satisfied with the amount, Muhammad Khan demanded Nawa in order to meet the expenses of his family.[5] Personally he went to Jodhpur, and met the Maharaja on February 7, 1815.[6] Thereupon, Man Singh agreed to clear off the arrears, amounting to six lacs of rupees and regularise the annual payment henceforth at the rate of rupees four lacs a year. He also allotted the districts of Nawa, Sambhar, Bilara and the villages of Malkot and Dangawas to him[7]

Amir Khan had also come to Jodhpur in the early months of 1815 and ravaged Jodhpur-Bikaner frontier.[8] Later on he went to Merta to join Muhmmad Khan.[9] He sent his agent

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1. Ibid.
2. P.R.C. Xiv 136.
3. Ibid. 223, 225, 225 A.
4. A letter from Man Singh to Muhammad Khan dated 5th day of the dark-half of Pausha vs. 1871/31st Dec. 1815. AB. No. 5. p. 140. Jd.
5. Ibid-dated 1st day of the dark half of Vaisaka vs. 1871/24th April, 1815. AB. No. 5 pp. 141-142. Jd.
6. Hakikat Bahi No. 10. p. 35. Jd.
7. A letter from Man Singh to Muhammad Khan dated 1st day of the dark-half of Vaisakha, vs. 1871/24th April 1815. AB. No. 5. pp. 141-142. Jd.
8. P. R. C. xiv 223, 225, 225 A; Prinsep : Memoirs of Amir Khan p. 412.
6. Prinsep Memoirs of Amir Khan p. 432. Marwar Khyat Vol. iv p. 70.

Datta Ram to Man Singh to collect the money, promised to his captain.[1] Datta Ram met Man Singh on May 4, 1815, and having secured a part of the money, he came to Merta and presented it to Amir Khan.[2] Amir Khan was not happy with Man Singh for he again delayed the payment promised to his deceased brigadier.[3] In order to realise the remaining amount he personally marched on to Jodhpur He reached there on August 20.[4] Two days later, he entered the fort with a small force and took possesson of the main gate of the fort.[5]

The arrival of Amir Khan in the fort created a great confusion in the court. Man Singh was practically helpless to meet the new situation. His *Dewan* Inder Raj and Deo-Nath Vyas on behalf of Man Singh began negotiations with him on the very day he occupied the fort.[6] Amir Khan demanded rupees four lacs. Inder Raj could spare only rupees two to three lacs at that time.[7] No tangible results of the negotiations were forthcoming. It dragged on upto September 9.[8] Then Amir Khan took a new recourse to press the matters in his favour. He exploited the rift in the court, which was beyond reconciliations.

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1. Ibid
2. Hakikat Bahi No. 10 p 58 Jd,
   Prinsep : Memoirs of Amir Khan p. 432.
3. Hakikat Bahi No. 10. p 72 Jd.
   P. R. C xiv 225 A;
   In the meantime Muhammad Shah had died.
4. Hakikat Bahi No 10 p 78. Jd;
5. Ibid p 80.
6. Ibid
7. Hakikat Bahi No 10, p. 89; Jd,
   Mundiyad Khyat (Man Singh) pp. 120-121. Basta no Jd
8. Hakikat Bahi no. 10 p. 84 Jd.

Since 1812, Inder Raj had combined in himself the duties of the *Dewan* and *Bakhshi*. He and Deo Nath became practically the dictators of the state. None could approach the Maharaja except these two. By a decree, the Raja had bestowed all powers on them for five years. It created discontent among the courtiers. Muhta Akhay Chand, Vyas Chaturbhuj, Mehta Suraj Mal, Sahib Chand and Vyas Suraj Nath, younger brother of Deo Nath formed a rival group against Inder Raj. The discontent was also highlighted by Inder Raj's measures to economise the state finances. He demobilised the mercenary force, which was not satisfied by the small amount of the arrears paid. Amir Khan stepped in and contacted the group led by Akhay Chand. The leading nobles like Thakur Keshri Singh, Hari Singh of Asop, Bakhtawar Singh of Umboha, Sultan Singh of Nimaj and Partap Singh of Ladso also joined him.[1]

The chief wife of Man Singh had her own grievances against Inder Raj[2] She sent her son Chhatar Singh to meet Amir Khan in his camp on September 10,1815.[3] Chhatar-Singh had a long private talk with Amir Khan.[4] Sources are silent about the subject matter of the talks but the subsequent events lead us to believe that a plan was hatched to murder Inder Raj and Deo Nath and force Man Singh to abdicate in

1 Mundiyad Khyat (Man Singh) pp. 115-119. Basta no. 40 Jd;
Marwar Khyat Vol iv p. 73;
Prinsep : Memoirs of Amir Khan p. 433.

2. A letter from Metcalfe to J. Adams dated 25th Oct. 1815 F. P. 10th Nov. 1815. No. 16;
Prinsep : Memoirs of Amir Khan P. 434;
Wilson : Vol. viii p. 126.

3. Hakikat Bahi No 10 p 84. Jd.

4. Ibid.

favour of his son[1] The rival party promised to pay him rupees seven lacs in cash for this act.[2]

On getting five lacs from the conspirators,[3] Amir Khan decided to remove Inder Raj and Deo Nath from the power[4] The city was immediately put under his force[5] The fort was already under his infantry.[6] Soon he got a favourable opportunity for his action In the evening of October 9, 1815, Inder Raj and Deo Nath were conferring in one of the palaces of the fort. The news was conveyed to Amir Khan by the inmates of the palace, who were the confidants of Akhay Chand group. Amir Khan sent a party of 25 to 30 soldiers under the leadership of Kutubuddin to wait upon the ministers The party was instructed to commit the crime while demanding the payments of the tribute. The party met the ministers at about 8 P M[7] Inder Raj agreed to pay the amount promised by instalments within nine months but Kutubuddin demanded ready money. A hot discussion followed The soldiers tried to kidnap Inder Raj but failed.[8] Then they murdered him along with

1 A letter from Metcalfe to J Adams dated 2nd Dec 1815 F P 13th Jan 1816, No 27

2 Mundiyad Khyat (Man Singh) p 122 Basta no 40 Jd;
Marwar Khyat Vol ii p 73
Tod Vol ii p 1091

3 P R C. Nv 243

4 A letter from Metcalfe to J Adams dated 17th Oct 1815 F P 10th Nov 1815 No 14

5 Ibid-dated 2nd Nov 1815 F P 25 Nov 1815 No. 3

6 HakiKat Bahi No. 10 p 80 Jd

7 Ibid p 884
Mundiyad Khyat (Man Singh) p 123 Basta no. 40 Jd
A letter from Metcalfe to J Adams dated 17th Oct 1815 F P 10th Nov. 1815 No 14

8 A latter from Metcalfe to J Adams dated 25th Oct 1815 F P 10th Nov. 1815 No 16

Deo Nath and five others, who were present there.[1] The murderers were safely removed at night out of the fort by Vyas Surath Nath, ladies, officials and chiefs present in the fort.[2] Man Singh was closely watched in his apartment. He was not allowed to communicate with anyone. His body-guards and menials were replaced. He was virtually imprisoned by Vyas Chaturbhuj.[3] When the news of the murders spread among the people, they disapproved Amir Khan's action and showed signs of revolt. But the Pathan chief minimised the chances of

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1. Hakikat Bahi No. 10. p. 88 Jd.;
A letter from Metcalfe to J. Adams dated 17th Oct 1815 F. P. 10th Nov. 1815, No. 14; another letter to Metcalfe to J. Adams datad 25th Oct. 1815. F. P. 10th Nov. 1815. No. 16.
Tod remarks that 'Raja Man was privy to the murder' (Vol. ii p. 827); Prinsep supports Tod's view (A history of Pol. and Mil. Trans. in India Vol. I p. 338); Amir Khan in his memoirs (Translated by Prinsep) referred the attitude of Man Singh towards Inder Raj as hostile (pp. 413-414) but he exonerated Raja from a party to the murder (p. 434). However he accepted that he joined the party in the court which had planned for the murder. The reason of his joining was the detection of a murder plan against him organised by the minister and the priest (pp. 434-435): Metcalfe could not decide the truth about the contradictory reports reached to him, hence he wrote to J. Adams on 25th Oct.1815 that 'The Raja or some powerful party in the fort must have been accessory to the murder of the ministers (F. P. 10th Nov. 1815. No. 16); Prinsep, later on, corrected himself and accepted Amir Khan's version (Memoirs of Amir Khan p. 434 ff.);
However, the knowledge of Tod and Prinsep was based on a report of Jodhpur agent at Delhi, who told the Resident that the murder was done at the instigation of Man Singh (*Wilson : Vol. viii* p. 127 ff 1). He belonged to the party of Akhay Raj (Wilson : Vol. viii p. 127 ff. 1). As such his report was to blackmail the Raja Mundiyad Khyat mentions that Man Singh ordered to klll the murderers of his Dewan and Guru but nobody obeyed him (p. 124).
2. Hakikat Bahi No. 10. p. 89. Jd.
3. Mundiyad Khyat (Man Singh) p. 124. Basta No. 40 JJ.;
Tod Vol. ii pp. 830, 1091;
Wilson Vol. viii p. 127.

agitation by ordering his soldiers to loot the city [1] He also threatened to kill Man Singh, in case further opposition from the people came in [2]

Apparently under Amir Khan's influence a new government under Akhay Chand was installed [3] It agreed to pay rupees 20 lacs to Amir Khan [4] Five lacs were already paid Of the remaining two were to be paid immediately and the rest of the amount was to be paid after the winter crop [5] Amir Khan showed his eagerness to leave Jodhpur as soon as he was paid but his real intention was to stay and place Chhatar Singh on the throne [6] In order to achieve it, he tried to gain the possession of Man Singh but he could not succeed.[7] There upon, he left Jodhpur in December, 1815 [8]

In the meantime, Gul Raj, brother of the deseeased Inder Raj contacted Bapuji Sindia for help and proceeded to Jodhpur to relieve the state from Amir Khan's influence [9] They arrived on January 29, 1816.[10] Akhay Raj put up a resistence, but failed. He was forced to resign his post, giving place to Fateh

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1 Mundiyad Khyat (Man Singh) p 125 Basta no 40 Jd

2 Ibid

3 A letter from Metcalfe to J Adams dated 2nd Nov 1815 F P 25th Nov 1815 No 31

4 P R C Niv 243

5 P R C. Nis 243

6 A letter from Metcalfe to J Adams dated 2nd Dec 1815 F P 13th Jan 1816 No 27

7 Ibid'

8 Marwar Khyat Vol iv pp 73-74.
Prinsep's Memoirs of Amir Khan p 411

9 A letter from Daulat Rao Sindia to Jagat Singh of Jaipur dated vs. 1873 1816 (KS) Jd

10. Hakikat Bahi No 10 p 94 Jd

Bapuji Sindia ravaged the land of Marwar with all the ferocity at their command [1]

Man Singh was powerless to check it, hence, he tried to pacify both by paying a part of the money demanded by them.[2] But his *Diwan*, Gul Raj asked another general of Sindia, Dhan Singh, to come to his aid with a brigade [3] Before his arrival, a *Coupd'etat* was staged Gul Raj was murdered on April 4, 1817,[4] and Fateh Raj was imprisioned with the help of Amir Khan's soldiers.[5] The *Coup* leaders, Akhay Raj, Salim Singh and Vyas Bhim Nath, then, forced the Maharaja to retire.[6] The Maharaja, under duress, signed his abdication on April 19, 1817 and nominated his son, Chhatra Singh as *Yuvraj*.[7] The *Yuvraj*

1 A letter from Man Singh to Daulat Rao dated 12th day of the bright-half of Phalgura vs. 1873/28th February 1817 AB No 5 p 17 Jd, P.R C. Xiv 368

2 A letter from Man Singh to Daulat Rao dated 12th day of the bright-half of phalguna vs. 1873 28th Feb 1817 AB No 5 p 17 Jd, P R.C. Xiv 305

3 P R C. Xiv 321
Dhan Singh was coming from Jaswant Rao Sindia's official at Ajmer.

4 Hakikat Bahi No 10 p 117 Jd
P R C Xiv 313
Marwar Khyat Vol iv pp 75 -8
Dhan Singh came to Jodhpur on April 15 1817 (Hakikat Bahi No 10 p 121

5 Ibid

6 Mund yad Khyat (Man Singh) p 123 Basta No 40 Jd

7 Hakikat Bahi No 10 p 117 Jd
Marwar Khyat Vol iv pp 7-8
A letter addressed to Jaipur ruler by Man Singh on April 20 1817 and to British, received by them on June 13 1817 show that the transfer of power of his government was done in accordance of his free will. A Khatita from Man Singh to Jagat Singh dated 4th day of the bright-half of Vaisaka vs. 1873 20th April 1817 Jp and a letter from Man Singh to the British Resident at Delhi received on 13th June 1817 F P [illegible] 1817 no. 40). But the facts mentioned above reveal that he was forced to do so Metcalfe in his information to J Adams also wrote on [illegible] 1817 that the arrangements had been effected by a combination of the chiefs of the state (F P 14 June 1817 No. 13)

appointed Akhay Raj as his *Dewan* on the same day[1] and announced that the new administration would initiate reforms in Marwar.[2] These changes were made under Amir Khan's influence. He was immediately paid for his services by the new government.[3]

(F) British treaty with Marwar vindicating the stopping of the tribute to Sindia, January 6, 1818.

Man Singh's relations with the British were not good since he had not ratified the Anglo-Rathor treaty of 1803. The British also took a serious view of his keeping the family of Holkar in his state. When the ruler tried to revive the treaty of 1803, several times in 1805,[4] 1807,[5] 1812[6] and finally in 1814,[7] it was rejected by the British government, on the ground that bound by the article eight of the treaty with Sindia,[8] by which it had agreed to Sindia's hold on Jodhpur, they could not entertain the overtures of the ruler of Jodhpur. However, a change appeared in the British policy, when Lord Hastings adopted the policy of establishing the unquestioned supremacy

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1. Hakikat Bahi No. 10. p. 118. Jd,
2. A Kharita from Maharaja of Kishangarh to Chhatar Singh dated 5th day of the dark-half of 1st Sravana vs. 1874/3rd July 1817. P. F. 4 File 8/11 Kh. 1. Jd.
3. Mundiyad Khyat (Man Singh) p. 126. Basta no. 40. Jd.
4. P.R.C. Xi 182.
5. A letter from A. Seton to N. B. Edmonstone dated 20th Feb, 1807. F. P. 12th March 1807. No. 26.
6. P.R.C. Xiv 98.
7. A letter from Metcalfe to J. Adams dated 3rd April 1814. F. P. 22nd April 1814. No. 11.
8. A letter from Metcalfe to J. Adams dated 3rd April 1814. F.P. 22nd April 1814. No. 11.

of British rule throughout India in early 1814[1] The fulfilment of this policy involved a war with the Marathas, the only power in India to be dealt with. To weaken them Lord Hastings deprived them of their Pindari hordes by waging a war against them and then bringing their tribute paying states to his side.

As soon as the war with Nepal was brought to a close in March 1816, Lord Hastings paid his attention to the affairs of Rajputana.[2] The British government decided in April 1816, to help the ruler of Jodhpur against the Pindari hordes, provided the Raja accepted the policy set by the Governor General[3] Man Singh did not like the British alliance, which would reduce him to a sub-ordinate position.[4] But the subsequent ravages of Amir Khan and Bapuji Sindia throughout 1816[5] and in the first half of 1817[6] so changed the political situation in Marwar that the *Vakil* of the Maharaja at Delhi, Asopa Bishan Ram contacted the British for the treaty[7] This was a welcome move and Lord Hastings annulled the treaty and freed British government from the attical eight of the treaty with Sindia, on the ground that the Sindia was carrying secret negotiations with the Peshwa and Ranjit Singh for the subversion of the British government.[8]

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1. The private Journal of Marquess of Hastings p 30
2. Wheeler J. Talboys p 201
3. P.R C. xiv 267
4. A letter from Close to G. G dated 22nd May 1816 F. S 11the June 1816 No. 28
5. A letter from Close to J Adams dated 31st May 1816. F. S 15th June 1816. No. 10; P.R C. Xiv 282, 291, 292
6. Ibid. 298, 299 and pp 367-368,
7. Marwar Khyat Vol. iv pp 82-83; Tod; Vol ii p. 1093
8. General Appendix to Report from S. C. on the affairs of the E I Committee Lord Hasting's Summary p. 100 (Quoted in B D Basu's Rise of the Christian power in India Vol. iv p. 191; Wheeler J Talboys pp. 223-224.

9. 'The Maharaja and his heirs and successors shall remain absolute rulers of their country, and the jurisdiction of the British government shall not be introduced into that principality.

10. 'The treaty of ten articles having been concluded at Delhi and signed and sealed by Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and Byas Bishnu Ram and Byas Ubee Ram the ratification of the same by his Excellency, the Governor General and by Raj Rajeesur Maharaja Man Singh Bahadur and Joograj Maharaj Koowar Chutter Singh Bahadur shall be exchanged within six weeks from this date (January 6, 1818).

The treaty was ratified by Lord Hastings on January 16, 1818.[1] It was sent to Man Singh, who lived at Mandor, five miles north of Jodhpur, where he put his signature on the Pers ian version of the agreement in the presence of the *Yuvraj* on February 9, 1818.[2]

The treaty put an end to the relation of Jodhpur rulers with Sindia to whom they had been a tribute paying state since 1756.[3] The tribute paid by Man Singh to Sindia was henceforth to be paid to the British government, though the amount fixed was 1,08,000 rupees a year. The British government became responsible for dealig with all cases of Jodhpur government's

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1. Marwar Khyat Vol. iv p. 84;
Aitchison: T. E. S. Vol. iii p. 130.

2. Hakikat Bahi no. 10. p. 202. Jd.

3. The yearly amount of the tribute; which Man Singh paid to Sindia was rupees 1,80,000 (Rupees 1,50,000 for Marwar and Rupees 30,000 for Godwad). After various deductions Sindia received rupees 97, 200 a year only. A letter from Metcalfe to J. Adams dated 15th Jan. 1818. F. S. 6th Feb. 1818. No. 102

relations with Sindia regarding the affairs of the arrears of the tribute henceforth The influence of Amir Khan came also to an end, for the British did not acknowledge the sum paid to him as the tribute and empowered the ruler to resume Khan's jagir in Marwar.[1] By this treaty, Jodhpur became a subordinate protected state of the East India Company. The Maharaja agreed to contribute a force of 1,500 cavalry, when and as required by the paramount power Under Sindia Jodhpur was only a tribute-paying state It was free to enter into any kind of relations with any other power in India. Sindia cared only for the regular payment of the tribute[2] Whereas, the treaty with the East India Company had not only reduced it to a subordinate position of tributory state but also deprived it of its foreign relations It could not maintain any relation with any state without the approval of the British authority Though the treaty did not include any article about the interference in the internal affairs, yet it was apprehended that the British government would not remain a silent spectator, if such a situation as would necessiate their interference in the internal matters, arise[3]

Soon after the ratification of the treaty Chhatar Singh died on March 23 1818[4] Dreading Raja Man Singh's regaining

1 The immediate benefit resulted to the Raja from the ejection of all the Thanas placed in the country by Amir Khan and other Pathan chiefs (Prinsep : History of Pol and Mil Transaction in India Vol ii p 358)

2 Hath Bahi No 2 p 134 Jd ;
A letter from Mahadaji Sindia to Bijay Singh dated 7th day of the bright-half of Asvina vs 1843/29th Sept 1785 Pf 6 LN 55 Jd

3 A letter from Metcalfe to J Adams dated 15th Jan 1818 F S 6th Feb 1818 No 102

4 Hakikat Bahi No 10 p 207 Jd ;
A letter from Metcalfe to J Adams dated 2nd April 1818 F P 24th April 1818 No 46

the government, Akhay Chand and Salim Singh intended to put Dhonkal Singh who was residing near Delhi at that time, on the throne of Jodhpur.[1] Man Singh lost no time and contacted the Resident at Delhi through General Luni Akhtar and *Munshi* Mahmud Baz on July 23, 1818 and later on, through Barkat Ali in October.[2] A British brigade under Ochterlony proceeded to Jodhpur on October 6.[3] The British interference helped Man Singh in November to effect his public resumption of the reins of government of Jodhpur.[4]

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1. Ibid;
   Tod mentions that the Pokran faction made an application to Idar ruler for a son to be adopted as their sovereign but it was rejected by him (Vol. ii p. 1092);
   Even during the period of his retirement, Man Singh's enemies tried to poison him sometimes by mixing drugs within his food, and sometimes by putting snakes in his bed. (A letter from Wilder to Ochterlony dated 22nd Feb. 1821. F. P. 21st March 1821. No. 14).
2. Hakikat Bahi No. 10 p. 210 and pp. 213-214; p. 216. Jd.
3. A letter from Ochterlony to J. Adams dated 15th Nov. 1818. F. P. 26th Dec. 1818. No. 55.
4. Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

The Maratha Exit (1818-1843 A.D)

(A) Madhu Raj Bhonsle (Appa Sahib) and the British power

Raghuji Bhonsle, after his sad experience of war in 1803 with the British, continued to maintain an attitude of sullen indifference towards the Maratha confederacy-confining his attention only to the protection of his territory of Nagpur against future British inroads His death on March 22,1816 facilitated British penetration in Nagpur, which he had long resisted. He was succeeded by his son, Parsaji Bala Sahib, who was incapable of conducting the affairs of the state-being blind and paralytic Madhu Raj Bhonsle, the nephew[1] of the late Raghuji Bhonsle was appointed the regent for the new ruler. He strengthened his position by entering into a secret treaty with the British on May 28,1816. A British force under Col. Doveton arrived at Nagpur on June 18, to crush all possible opposition to Appa Sahib The consequent confusion brought about the death of Parsaji on February 1, 1817, and Appa Sahib became the ruler of Nagpur with the British support on April 25,1817[2]

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1 He was the son of Vyankoji Manya Bapu younger brother of Raghuji He died in 1811 at Benaras (P R C, v 214)

2. P R C v 227 229-2311
Jenkin's Report on Nagpur pp 65-69

Soon after his accession, Appa Sahib Changed his attitude towards the British government. He dismissed his minister responsible for negotiating the treaty with the British. He sent secret communications to the Peshwa Baji Rao II and other Maratha leaders, indicating his desire to make a common cause against the British. He enlisted new recruits and maintained a larger force than he was entitled to. It was all in contravention to the treaty of May, 1816, and was intolerable for the British.[1] The matter became worse when he joined the cause of the Peshwa against the British in November 1817.[2] The British moved armies against him, resulting in his deposition from the throne.[3] He was taken prisoner but some how managed to flee in May, 1818.[4] In 1819 he proceeded to the Punjab, where he remained with Ranjit Singh for sometime.[5] In 1820, he found shelter at Oonah near the Simla hills, which were under the control of Sahib Singh Bedi.[6] Later on, he made Mandi, his residence.[7] But in February, 1828, he came to Amritsar and lived there in seclusion.[8]

One of the despatches, intercepted by Wellesley, Resident at Indore, indicates that, while staying at Mandi Appa Sahib

1. P.R.C. v 232

2. P.R.C. v 235; Jenkin's report on Nagpur pp. 71-72.

3. P.R.C. v 235.

4. Ibid. 236; Calcutta Gazetteer (1813-1823) Vol. v, p. 259.

5. P.R.C. v 248.

6. Ibid.

7. A memorandum on the intrigues of Ganga Singh and others from Hawkins to Swinton. F. P. 16th April 1830. No. 25.

8. Ibid. No. 26.

developed good relations with many persons in Rajasthan [1] It further says that Appaji sent one Ganga Singh to various states of Rajasthan in order to secure the support of his cause [2] At the close of the Burmese war in 1826, Appaji, taking advantage of the resentment of local rulers[3] against the British, asked his agent to meet Metcalfe and Colebrooke[4] in order to get favourable terms for a compromise with the British He met Colebrooke on October 10,1827[5] and wrote to Sir John Malcolm on February 8,1828, about his mission [6] However, Colebrooke was ordered by the Governor General in May, 1828, to discontinue all intercourses with Ganga Singh [7] Even help from Ranjit Singh could not be secured for his cause [8]

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1 Ibid No 25.

2 Ibid
He visited Bharatpur, Jaipur, Karauli Fatehpur, Tonk and Udaipur At Ajmer he was apprehended in 1825 under a charge of raising troops for the service of Appa Sahib But the charge could not be proved and he was released in September 1826 (A letter from Metcalfe to A Stirling, Persian Secretary to G G dated 20th Sept 1826 F.P 25th Oct 1826 No.4

3. To meet the expenses of the Burmese war, the G G took from the Princes of India, the following amount which they gave grudgingly King of Oudh paid pounds 1 00 000 sterling; Raja of Nagpur paid pounds 50 000; Raja of Banaras paid pounds 20 000; Baji Rao, the ex Peshwa, paid a very considerable sum out of his pension Lord Ahmerst's conduct with the Emperor during his visit to him in February, 1827, was also humiliating to Indian sentiments (B D Basu: Rise of the Christian power in India Vol Iv pp 440-441)

4 A memorandum on the intrigues of Ganga Singh and others from Hawkins to Swinton F P 16th April 1830 No 25 and 26

5 Ibid No 25

6 Ibid No 26

7 A letter from Secretary to G G to Resident Delhi dated 23rd May 1828 F P 23rd May 1828 No 41

8 A memorandum on the intrigues of Ganga Singh and others, from Hawkins to Swinton F P 16th April 1830 No 25 and 26

(B) Man Singh helps Bhonsle against the British.

Coming down fron the hills and failing to find support in other parts of Rajasthan and the Punjab, Appaji moved towards Bikaner in 1829[1] (about March). He resided at the holy temple at Deshnok.[2] He tried to settle his differences with the British government by promising to pay six annas in a rupee to the British, on his restoration.[3] The British did not entertain the move.[4] However, he was popular at Nagpur. The people of that part of the country were regularly financing him and money reached him through his agents in Rajasthan and outside.[5] While residing at Deshnok, he wrote to Maharaja Man Singh of Jodhpur to permit him to reside at Nagor.[6] The British government adopted a stern attitude towards Bikaner and Jodhpur. The Governer General reprimanded the ruler of Bikaner for giving asylum to Appa Sahib in violation of the treaty obligations and was instructed not to let him pass on into the adjoining territories of Jodhpur or Jaipur.[7] Man-Singh was also instructed to apprehend or detain Appaji, if he

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1. A letter from Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 19th March 1829. F. P. 5th June 1829, No. 12.
2. A letter from Colebrooke to Cavendlsh dated 20th May 1829. F. P. 5th June 1829; No. 13.
3. A letter from Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 19th March 1829, F. P. 5th June 1829, No. 12.
4. Ibid.
5. Letters from Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 8th and 13th May 1829. F.P, 5th June 1829, No. 12 and 13;

   Maratha papers about Appa Sahib dated 13th Aug. and 15th Aug. 1829, F.P. 28th May 1830, No. 15.
6. A letter from Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 8th May 1829. F. P. 5th June 1829, No. 12
7. A letter from Colebrooke to Cavendish dated 16th May 1829 F. P. 5th June, 1829, No. 12.

crossed over to Marwar.[1] Thereupon Appa Sahib was asked to leave Bikaner after a stay of more than two months.[2]

With a circuitous route through Bhawalpur[3] he crossed the frontiers of Marwar[4] and reached Nagor with 300 followers,[5] posing as a friend of the British.[6] At Nagor he did not remain silent, but kept his contacts with his friends at Nagpur[7] He arrived at Mandor in April 1829, and requested the Maharaja to allow him to reside there for some days.[8] Suspecting his march towards the Deccan, the British Resident asked the *Vakil* of Jodhpur at Delhi to urge his master to comply with his previous instructions about Appa Sahib strictly.[9] He was asked to convey to him that Appa Sahib must be expelled towards Sind or Bhawalpur[10] and some men from Jodhpur must be deputed to take Appa Sahib back by the same route from

1 A leteer from Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 8th May 1829 F P 5th June 1829, No 12

2 Ibid-dated 25th May 1829 F. P 19th June 1829, No 26. and dated 11th June 1829, F. P 3rd July 1829 No 28

3 A letter frem Colebrooke to Cavendish dated 20th May 1829 F. P. 5th June 1829 No 13

4 Letters from Colebrooke to Swinton dated 2nd and 4th June 1829 F P 19th June 1829 Nos 26 and 27

5 A letter from Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 25th May 1829 F P 19th June 1829, No 26

6 Ibid

7 Ibid

8 A letter from Cavendish to Man Singh dated 8th May 1829 J B R. S Vol XXXiii (1947) Pt I and II

9 A letter from Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 25th May, 1829 F. P 19th June 1829, No 26.

10 A letter from the Resident, Delhi to Mehta Buch Raj, Political agent of Jodhpur F P. 19th June 1829 No. 26

which he had come there.[1] At first Appa Sahib was refused permission[2] but ultimately he was allowed to stay.[3] He was lodged at Mahamandir,[4] now a suburb of Jodhpur city.

Man Singh was not happy with the British. They had supported the rising of feudal chiefs against him in 1827-1828.[5] Moreover, he thought it his right to give asylum to any person without being questioned by the British, as he was under no obligation to the British to act according to their directions in his internal affairs.[6] The letters, which he received from the British government, through his agent at Delhi, and in which he was repeatedly questioned about the lodging of a British criminal at Jodhpur, were disliked by him.[7] In reply to these letters, Man Singh took a bold step and wrote in the strain, 'An agent of Appa Sahib is permitted to reside at Delhi. On what principle do you require me to disgrace myself by expelling

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1. A letter from Cavendish to Man Singh dated 8th May 1829. J. B. R S. Vol. XXXiii (1947) Pt. I and II.

2. Ibid.

3. A letter from Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 27th May 1829: F. P. 19th June 1829. No. 27.

4. Ibid-dated 8th June 1829 F. P. 3rd July 1829 No. 25.

5. Man Singh had asked the British to come to his aid to repress the feudal rising which tried to strengthen itself by putting forward the case of Dhonkal Singh. The British adopted the policy that their government was not pledged to protect him for his misrule. However, they interfered later on and made Man Singh to accommodate the demands of the chiefs by restoring the confiscated lands (Wilson : Vol. ix pp. 309-311).

6. A letter from Cavendish to Hawkins dated 23rd Sept. 1829. F. P. 7th Nov. 1829, No. 3.

7. A letter from Cavendish to Man Singh dated 8th May 1829. J. B. R. S. Vol. XXXiii (1947) Pt. I and II. A letter from Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 25th May 1829 F. P. 19th June 1829, No. 26;
A letter from Resident Delhi to Mehta Buch Raj F. P. 19th Jure 1829, No. 26.

the master from my principalities.[1] He further declared that by the treaty he was not bound to deliver an enemy of the British government.[2] However, Man Singh was very particular to sound the reaction of the Britsh on this issue. He sent one Babu, a Bengali employee in his state, to secretly know about the reactions of the authorities at Ajmer.[3]

The British government suspected that Man Singh was in league with Appa Sahib in order to send him to Nagpur via Pushkar in disguise of a pilgrim.[4] To counteract this move, letters were sent to the political agents at Nagpur, Indore, Gwalior, Sagaur, Kota, Udaipur and Jaipur to alert them and to be on their guard against it.[5] At the same time, refuting Man Singh's stand on the issue of treaty obligation, the British agent at Ajmer informed him that the state was not justified in giving an asylum to the enemies of the British,[6] as such Appa Sahib should be arrested.[7]

It appears from the letter[8] of Cavendish to Colebrooke, dated June 20, 1829, that Appa Sahib had left Mahamandir and

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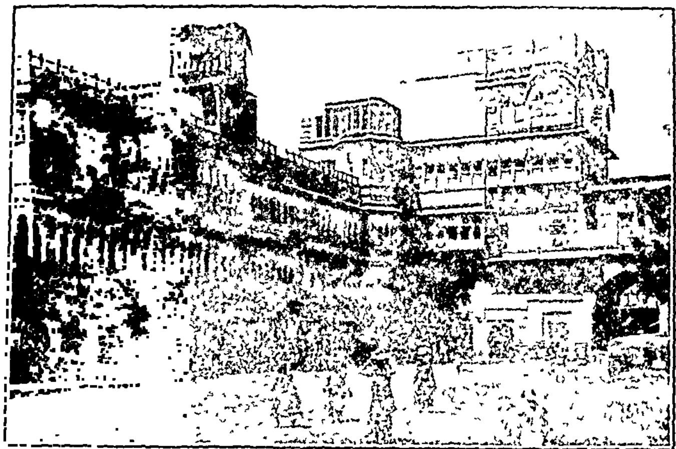
1. Letters from Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 8th June 1829; F. P. 3rd July 1829, No. 25 and 20th June 1829 F. P. 7th Aug. 1829, No. 8.
2. A letter from Cavendish to Hawkins dated 23rd Sept. 1829, F. P. 7th Nov. 1829, No. 3.
3. A letter from Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 8th June 1829, F. P. 3rd July 1829, No. 25.
3 Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6 A letter from Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 27th June 1829 F. P. 24th July 1829, No 19
   Appaji was declared an enemy of British and a reward for his arrest was substituted (P.R.C. V, 241).
7. A letter from Cavendish to Man Singh dated 12th June 1829. J. B. R. S. Vol. XXXiii (1947) Pt. I and II.
8. A letter from Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 26th June 1829 F. P. 31st July 1829 No 8,
   A letter from Colebrooke to Swinton dated 4th July 1829. F. P. 24th July 1829 No 20

proceeded towards Bikaner. It was also proved by an enquiry conducted by the Political Agent at Ajmer through his news writer at Nagor.[1] However, again it was reported that Appa Sahib had come back to Mahamandir.[2] Our sources are silent whether Man Singh was a partisan in sending him away from Jodhpur or he went away on his own accord. But when he returned, he was properly looked after and lodged at Mahamandir.[3]

When Appa Sahib came back again to Jodhpur, it was suspected that Man Singh would substitute a stranger in his stead and allow him to escape.[4] It drew the attention of Hawkins, British Resident at Delhi, who asked Cavendish, Political Agent at Ajmer, to explain the reasons of the slow policy adopted by him in relation to Appa Sahib's asylum at Jodhpur.[5] Cavendish explained his position while submitting his report on October 10, 1829, that 'In the present time of peace and our indoubtable supremacy, no immediate danger threatened our interests from allowing Man Singh ample time, to reflect on his treaty with the British Government'.[6] The reply of Cavendish was not sufficient and satisfactory. The Governor General desired that Appa Sahib must be handed over to the British authorities.[7] The

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1. Ibid.
2. Maratha papers about Appa Sahib dated 14th July 1829. F. P. 28th May 1830, No. 15.
3. Hakikat Bahi No. 11, 218. Jd.
4. A letter from Cavendish to Hawkins dated 10thOct. 1829 F. P. 13th Nov. 1829, No. 9.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. A letter from Cavendish to Hawkins dated 23rd Sept. 1829 F. P. 7th Nov. 1829, No. 3;
   A letter from Hawkins to Man Singh dated2nd Oct. 1829 J. B. R. S. XXXiii (1947) Pt. I & II;
   A letter from Cavendish to Hawkins dated 12th Oct. 1829 F. P. 13th Nov, 1829, No. 9.



Maha Mandir, Jodhpur.

government could only take over the responsibility of personal safety of Appa Sahib and guarantee comfortable subsistence [1]

Man Singh was not ready to hand Appaji over and on behalf of him, he communicated to the government that his (Appa Sahib's) sister's son should be removed from the throne and be replaced by one of the main line [2] He also demanded a *jagir* for Appaji, so that it might satisfy him [3] The government did not entertain the overtures The Resident threatened Man Singh that insisting on any term previous to his surrender might be considered a bargain, hence a violation of the treaty [4] As such the government would be bound to revise its attitude if Dhonkal Singh asked for the same claim [5] The Political Agent at Ajmer deputed one Laxmi Chand to Jodhpur in the beginning of October, 1829, with his injuction to the Maharaja to deliver Appa Sahib [6]

Man Singh turned a deaf ear to the mission of Laxmi Chand and began to make preparations for the defence of Jodhpur,[7] in case there was any eventual possibility of a struggle with the British The troops were alerted [8] Recruits were taken

1 A letter from Cavendish to Hawkins dated 12th Oct. 1829 F P 13th Nov 1829 No 9.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid

4 Ibid

5 Ibid.

6. Extracts from intelligence respecting Appa Sahib from Jodhpur received on 19th Oct 1829
(A letter from Cavendish to Swinton dated 12th Oct 1829 F P 13th Nov 1829 No 9)

7 Ibid

8 Ibid

into the army.[1] which was placed under the command of Kaur Chand.[2] In order to have internal stability Bhim Nath, the powerful leader of the Na.hs was reconciled to him.[3] He requested his friends in different parts of Rajasthan and the ruler of Tonk, to support him at this juncture.[4] But there was no hopeful response.[5] Moreover, his feudal chiefs and Dhonkal Singh were also in touch with the British.[6]

Finding his position at stake, Man Singh opened negotiations with the British. He sent two letters to Lord William Bentinck, Governor General of British India, one directly received by him on October 16, 1829[7] and another through the British Resident at Delhi, received by him on October 19, 1829.[8] The purport of the two letters is summarised as follows. Appa Sahib was still detained at Mahamandir. He had no longer any power or wish to excite disturbances in the British territory but hoped

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1. Ibsd.
2. Extract of the newspaper from Jodhpur dated 17th Oct. 1829 (A letter from Hawkins to Swinton dated 10th Nov, 1829. F. P. 4th Dec. 1829. No. 10).
3. Extract of the newspaper from Jodhpur dated 18th and 20th Oct. 1829 from Hawkins to Swinton dated 10th Nov. 1829. F. P. 4th Dec 1829, No. 10.
   The differences were over the succession on the Gaddi of Ayasji Maharaj. Bhim Nath wanted that his son should be adopted by the mother of Ladoo Nath. Man Singh was reluctan/ to accept it.
4. Extract of the intelligence respecting Appa Sahib from Tonk sent by Cavendish to Swinton on 12th Oct. 1829. F. P, 13th Nov 1829, No. 9.
5. Ibid.
6. A letter from Cavendish to Hawkins dated 12th Oct. 1829. F. P. 13th Nov. 1829. No. 9.
7. A letter from Man Singh to G. G. received on 16th Oct 1829 F. P. 7th Nov. 1829, No. 5.
8. A letter from Man Singh to Hawkins received on 19th Oct 1829. F. P, 13th Nov. 1829, No. 9.

and prayed for pardon and protection from the Governor General He was entirely ruined by the displeasure of the British Government and a pardon to him would give him peace of mind In case, it should not be done so, Man Singh was prepared to expel him as soon as the government ordered him to that effect. Man Singh pleaded that it was his duty to respect places of sanctuary and that obligation, he would be able to fulfil if he got sympathetic consideration of his position by the British Government If he was to seize Appa Sahib there, his name and reputation would perish. His family had ever been held in high esteem in India In the past many people, great and small had sought refuge in his state but upto that time it had never been customary to deliver up persons of that character. He requested the Governor General not to sanction the attachment of a stigma to the state but take into consideration and order the adoption of such a measure as would appear to be a salutary and expedient.

The Governor General in reply wrote to this effect that he was prepared to consider the feelings and wishes of its allies in matters affecting their honour and reputation in the eyes of their equals and tribes. He further communicated to Man Singh that he would consider his repuest only on condition that he stood surety for Appa Sahib and made himself responsible for any attempt on his part to regain his lost territory of Nagpur or disturb the peace and tranquillity there.[1]

Man Singh was happy over the amicable settlement of the affairs[2] He assured the Governor Generel through a letter,

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1. A letter from William Bentinck to Man Singh dated 6th November 1829 I. P. 7th Nov. 1829, No. 6;
   A letter from Swinton to Hawkins dated 6th Nov. 1829 F. P. 7th Nov. 1829, No. 7.
2. A letter from Cavendish to Hawkins dated 12th 1830 No 5

which Appaji needed for the preparation of arms and purchase of ammunitions at Jodhpur.[1] He then, in association with his aunt and wife made out a plan. The ladies would execute a coup at Nagpur on the occasion of Dashera by arresting the ruler and he would join them near about Dewali.[2]

When Appa Sahib was busy in these activities, the British Government came to know that Appa Sahib had contemplated to go to Nepal or the Deccan side.[3] The British government took immediate steps to check his escape from Jodhpur. The ruler of Bikaner was asked to keep a strict watch on Appa Sahib at Mahamanadir.[4] Mounted guards were organised and put on the probable routes to be taken up by Appa Sahib,[5] who it was feared, might escape in disguise.[6]

The British adopted a stern policy concerning Appa Sahib in the beginning of 1839. The new Agent to the Governor General at Ajmer, Col. Sutherland and Capt. Ludlow visited Jodhpur in March, 1839 and insisted on Man Singh to hand over Appa Sahib to the British custody.[7] Col. Sutherland also

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1. Ibid-dated 9th October 1838, F. P. 23rd Jan. 1839. No. 27.
2. Ibid-dated 12th Sept. 1838 F. P. 23rd Jan. 1839, No. 25; dated 9th Oct. 1838 F. P. 23rd Jan. 1839, No. 27; dated 22nd Oct. 1838 F. P. 23rd Jan. 1839, No. 31.
3. A letter from Macnaghten to Alves dated 22nd Oct. 1838. F. P. 23rd Jan. 1839, No. 29.
4. A letter from Alves to Torrens dated 22nd Dec. 1838. F. P. 3rd April 1839, No. 48.
5. A letter from Macnaghten to Alves dated 22nd Oct. 1839. F. P. 23rd Jan. 1839, No. 29.
6. A letter from Alves to Macnaghten dated 15th Nov. 1838, F. P. 23rd Jan. 1839, No 33.
7. A letter from Sutherland to Man Singh dated 26th April 1839. J.B.R.S. Vol. xxxiii (1947) Pt. I & II; A letter from Waddock to Sutherland dated 23rd May 1839. F. P. 7th Aug. 1839. No, 30, Prdg. p. 626.

adopted a clever strategy by creating rift between Appaji and Man Singh. He personally suggested to Appa Sahib in April[1] and later on through his embassy[2] in May, that Appaji should give to him in writing that he was in great trouble at Jodhpur and that he should be freed from Jodhpur environment and be taken under British protection But the conscience of Appa Sahib did not allow him and he preferred to live and die as a beggar rather than enter on any condition which might appear a relinquishment of what he considered his right to throne[3]

Man Singh, on his part agreed to hand over Appa Sahib to the British Government in December, 1839, on condition that he would be given a territorial provision in the Nagpur state[4] It was not possible for Col. Sutherland to agree to such a condition during his second visit to Jodhpur towards the closing months of 1839, because the Gonernor General had directed him that any reference to his subsistence would only be considered after Appa Sahib's removal from Jodhpur was finalised[5]

1 A letter from Sutherland to Waddock dated 3rd May 1839 containing copies of the letters from Appa Sahib to Sutherland and vice-versa F. P. 19th June 1839 No 25

2 Dr Russel was sent to attend the ailing Appa Sahib in May 1839 (A letter from Sutherland to Waddock dated 28th May 1839 F P 21st Aug 1839 No 66 Prdg pp. 82 84)

A letter from Sutherland to Waddock dated 6th June 1839 F P ,21st Aug 1839 No 68 prdg pp 87-88

3 A letter from Sutherland to Torrens dated 18th July 1840 F. P. 3rd Aug 1840 No. 123

4 A letter from Sutherland to Waddock dated 26th Dec. 1839 F. P 12th Feb 1840. No 4-

5 A letter from Waddock to Sutherland dated 10th June 1839 F. P 21st Aug 1839 No 67 Prdg pp 85-86;
A letter from Sutherland to Waddock dated 26th Dec 1839 F. P 12th Feb 1840, No 42

(D) Subsequent friendly relations between Rathors and the Marathas.

The subsequent relations between the ruler of Marwar and the Marathas were cordial and friendly In March 180 , the Maharaja had given a village named Akolee to Baija Bai wife of Daulat Rao Sindia of his own accord It was resumed in 1840 by Dewan Gambhirr Mal under the orders of the British Resident Ludlow [1] Baija Bai, through the British Agent at Gwalior, reclaimed the village from Jodhpur government in January 1842 [2] The issue of controversy centred round whether it was a 'peshkash grant or grant given at the rulers' pleasure The Sindia's government insisted that it was given as 'peshkash' in 1880 by Bijay Singh and for sixty years it remained under Sindia's government [3] The British Agent Ludlow on behalf of Jodhpur government refused to accept that the village in question was given as peshkash and insisted that according to the custom and rights of the rulers of Marwar the village given at pleasure was resumable.[4] When Man Singh came to know of it he declined that the village had been resumed at his orders[5] and explained the object of such a grant was to conciliate the goodwill of Sindia family [6] He ordered the

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1 A letter from Ludlow to Sutherland dated 25th July 1842-Enclosure No 1 R A O File No 27-Jodhpur 1842, p 19 Akolee is Akeli about 8 miles south of Merta

2 A letter from Spiers to Sutherland dated Jan 14 1842 R A O File No 27, Jd-1842, p 1

3 A letter from Spiers to Sutherland dated 14th Jan 1842 R A O File No 27-Jod , 1842, p 11
Ibid-dated 8th June 1842 R. A O File No 27-Jod 1842 pp 9-10

4 A letter from Ludlow to Sutherland dated 19th April 1842 R A O File No 27 Jod , 1842, p 5

5 Ibid 25th July 1842 R. A O File No 27-Jod 1842, p 19

6. Ibid.

Hence, leaving the matter as it was,[1] Col. Sutherland left Jodhpur on December 4, 1839.[2]

However, the British Government kept a keen eye on Appa Sahib. The letters to his wife at Nagpur were censored.[3] The Political Agents at Jodhpur and Nagpur were directed to keep a rigorous watch on the movements of Appaji.[4] But he did not live long thereafter. After a short illness, due to diarrhoea, which lasted five days, he expired at sunrise on July 15, 1840, at his residence in the holy sanctuary of Mahamandir.[5] He was given a state cremation by the orders of Man Singh.[6] It appears from the letter dated 19th July, 1842, sent by Waddock, Secretary to the Governor General, that there was a proposal for the appointment of an heir-apparent of Appaji in the person of Sheonath Singh, son of *Thakur* Sabal Singh of Sanderao,[7] but the British Government refused to recognise such a claimant[8] because neither the wives of Appaji at Nagpur entertained such a move[9] nor Man Singh ever gave any assent to it.[10]

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1. A letter from Sutherland to Waddock dated 26th Dec. 1839. F. P. 12th Feb. 1840, No. 42.
2. A letter from Sutherland to Hamilton dated 2nd March 1840, F. P. 23rd March 1840, No. 57.
3 A letter from Ludlow to Sutherland dated 26th March 1840, F. P. 27th April 1840, No. 32.
4. Ibid.
5. A letter from Ludlow to Sutherland dated 15th July 1840, enclosed with the letter from Sutherland to Torrens dated 18th July 1840. F P. 3rd Aug. 1840, No. 123.
6. Ibid.
7. A letter from Waddock to Sutherland dated 19th July 1842. R. A. O. file No. 28-Jod. 1842, pp, 1-2.
. A letter from Sutherland to Waddock dated 26th July 1842. R. A. O. File No. 28-Jod. 1842, pp. 3-6.
9. A letter from Sutherland to Ludlow dated 26th July 1842. R. A. O. File No. 28- Jod, 1842, p. 7.
10. A letter from Ludlow to Sutherland dated 29th July 1842. R. A. O. File No. 28-Jod. 1842, pp. 8-10.

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1 A letter from Ludlow to Sutherland dated 25th July 1842 Enclosure No 1 R A O File No 27-Jodhpur 1842, p 19 Akolee is Akeli about 8 miles south of Merta

2 A letter from Spiers to Sutherland dated Jan 14 1842 R A O File No 27 Jd-1842 p 1

3 A letter from Spiers to Sutherland dated 14th Jan 1842 R A O File No 27 Jod , 1842 p 11
Ibid-dated 8th June 1842 R A O File No 27-Jod 1842 pp 9-10

4 A letter from Ludlow to Sutherland dated 19th April 1842 R A O File No 27 Jod , 1842 p 5

5 Ibid 25th July 1842 R A O File No 27-Jod 1842 p 19

6 Ibid.

pay ransom for giving shelter to Salim Singh. His land was confiscated.[1] A new government under Fateh Raj was constituted,[2] which executed his policy of redeeming all additional grants bestowed upon the chiefs since the time of Raja Bijay-Singh.[3]

A great discontent prevailed among the *Thakurs.* They appealed to Col. Tod on July *31, 1821, to intervene and mediate for the settlement of their troubles.*[4] *The British intervened* and Man Singh was made to consent in February, 1824, to restore the estates of the *Thakurs* of Awa, Assore, Nimaj and Ras.[5] The British secured twenty one villages of Merwara territory of Marwar on a lease of eight years.[6] A British force was also kept there at the expense of the state treasury of Marwar.[7] By this, the disgruntled block against Man Singh was pacified, territory of Marwar was crippled and close watch on Jadhpur was kept by the stationing of a military force at Merwara.

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1. Ibid.
2. A letter from Wilder *to Ochterlony dated* 22nd Feb. 1821, F. P. 21st March 1821, No. 14; Marwar-Khyat *Vol.* iv pp. 97-98.
3. A letter from Wilder to Ochterlony dated 22nd Feb. 1821 F. P. 21st March 1821, No. 14.
4. A letter from chiefs of Marwar to Col. Tod dated 2nd day of the bright-half of Sravana vs, 1878/31st July 1821, (Quoted in Tod Vol, *I* pp. 228-230).
5. W. J Brigg's report F. P, 26th April 1841 No. 77. Prdg 19-26 April 1841, S. No. 894A, pp. 334-336; Aitchison : T. F. S. Vol. iii pp
6. An agreement signed by Vyas [illegible] d 2nd d[illegible] the bright-half Phalguna vs 1880/5th March Pf. I, File No. 7, LN. 7 Jd.; Aitchi[illegible] Vol. iii pp. 132-13[illegible]
7. Ibid

The reconciliation of Man Singh with his chiefs was neither sincere nor permanent and on various pretexts he persisted in retaining the sequestrated lands or instituted fresh resumption of land, compelling them to emigrate from Marwar and seek refuge at Jaipur and Bikaner.[1] Once again *Thakurs* of Awa, Nimaj and Ras were forced to leave their fiefs [2] The *Thakurs* decided to remove Man Singh from the throne and place Dhonkal Singh on the throne of Marwar [3] With the help of the Jaipur ruler they took the stand against their *Lord*, collecting a force of 10,000 soldiers in July 1828 [4] Man Singh, on his part, contacted Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Punjab, to help him against the opposition of his feudal chiefs [5] Man Singh and his counsellor Ladoo Nath regarded these disturbances as the creation of the British [6] The foreign element brought into the affairs alarmed the British government Though the British Resident was confident that Ranjit Singh would not accede to the call of Man Singh,[7] he could not ignore the rebellion of

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1 Marwar Khyat Vol iv p 103
Wilson : Vol ix p 308

2 Marwar-Khyat Vol iv pp 103 104

3 Brigg Report F P 26th April 1841 No 77 Prdg of 19-26 April 1841 S No 894 A p 3371
Wilson : Vol ix p 309
Marwar Khyat Vol iv pp 103 104

4 A letter from Trevelyn to Colebrooke dated 9th Aug 1828 F P 5th Sept 1828 No 20
Wilson : Nos. ix p 309

5 A letter from Colebrooke to Swinton dated August 1828, F P 5th Sept 1828, No 20

6 A letter from Trevelyn to Colebrooke dated 9th Aug 1828 F. P. 5th Sept 1828, No 20

7 A letter from Colebrooke to Swinton dated August, 1828 F, P 5th S. 1828, No 20

the chiefs, who depended on Dhonkal Singh.[1] The British intervened and demanded that Man Singh should submit his differences with his *Thakurs* to the British government and undertake to abide unhesitatingly by its decision.[2] Man Singh's preparation to crush the rebellion was of no avail. When he found himself helpless, he agreed to restore the confiscated land, possessions and privileges of the refractory chiefs.[3]

Hereafter, Man Singh adopted such an attitude as was not favourably looked upon by the British authority. His giving asylum to Appa Sahib Bhonsle, as we have seen,[4] was highly objected to by the British. A large share of the revenue and the entire administration of Marwar was entrusted to the Naths against the wishes of the British.[5] Man Singh continued to keep his friendly relations with Ranjit Singh. It was disliked by the British.[6] He encouraged the ravages on the frontiers of Sirohi and Ajmer without caring for expostulations addressed to him.[7] He did not wait upon the Governor General, Lord William Bentinck, when he called a conference of Rajput rulers

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1. Wilson : Vol. ix p. 309.
2. Ibid. p. 310.
3. Marwar Khyat Vol iv p. 104;
   Wilson. Vol. ix p. 311.
4. See Section B of this chapter.
5. Marwar Khyat Vol iv p. 105;
   Wilson : Vol. ix p. 312.
   Out of the state revenue of 37 lacs of rupees, 7 lacs were alienated in favour of Naths, ten lacs formed the jagirs of the Thakurs, leaving twenty for the Raja
6. A letter from Martin to the Secretary to G. G. dated 24th Dec. 1831. F.P. 30 Jan. 1832, No. 40;
   A letter from Lokhart to the Secretary to G. G. dated 28th Sept. 1832. F. P. 26th Nov. 1832, No. 14.
7. Wilson : Vol. ix p. 312.

at Ajmer in 1832.[1] The British doubted the motives of Man-Singh, when the leaders of the Khosa tribe were employed[2] by him in order to extend his influence in Thar Parkar. Moreover he withheld his contingent quota of the supply of 1500 cavalry to the British against these tribes in September, 1832.[3] Later on under threats he sent a force led by Lodha Ridmal and Muhnot Ram Das but on critical occasions, it sided with the enemy.[4] This was regarded as contrary to the treaty obligations. The tribute fell in arrears and urgent demand for the payment made by the Political Agent at Ajmer did not improve matters.[5] The British regarded it the responsibility of Man Singh to arrest the marauding bands revaging Kishangarh territory, but the Maharaja showed his inability to prevent.[6] The Maharaja also gave shelter to the murderers of Dr. Mottley, a medical officer of Ajmer.[7] He refused to abolish the *Thugi* in his state.[8] Many

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1. A letter from Man Singh to Swinton, received on 6th April 1832, F. P. 7th May 1832, No 32;
   Hakikat Bahi No 11 p. 318 and 323 Jd;
   Marwar Khyat Vol iv pp. 108-109.
2. A letter from Lockhart to Macnaghten dated 28th Sept. 1832, F. P. 26th Nov. 1832, No 14.
3. A letter from Lockhart to Man Singh dated 15th Sept. 1832 F. S 22nd Oct. 1832, No. 10.
4. Marwar Khyat Vol iv p. 111.
   Wilson: Vol. ix p. 312.
5. A letter from Lockhart to Man Singh dated 15th Sept 1832 F. S. 22nd Oct. 1832, No. 10;
   Wilson: Vol. ix p. 312.
6. A letter from Waddock to Alves dated 22nd Aug. 1834. F. P 22nd Aug. 1834. No. 18 (Oct.);
   Wilson: Vol ix p 312.
7. Wilson Vol ix p. 313
8. A letter from Waddock to Alves dated 22nd Aug. 1834. F. P. 22nd Aug. 1834 No 18 (Oct);
   A letter from Alves to Macnaghten dated 11th Sept. 1834 R. A No 5. Jodhpur II. 1834. Para II.

of the letters from the British Political Agent remained unreplied by him.[1]

Despite the payment of the tribute in May, 1833,[2] his other activities, referred to above, were not liked by the British. To set things right the Political Agent required that Man Singh should send somebody at Ajmer to discuss and adjust the issues. Man Shingh evaded it for some days.[3] Later on, a party, con sisting of Anop Ram Vyas *Thakurs* of Rian and Balunda, met Alves, the Political Agent on Aug. 5.[4] Soon it was found by the Agent that the party sent was powerless.[5] He demanded of Man Singh to depute such persons as could discuss and adjust the problems of weighty nature,[6] and warned him that if nothing substantial came out from him, the British goverment would be constrained to depose him and place Dhonkal Singh on the Gaddi of Jodhpur instead.[7] At the same time military prepara tions were made at Ajmer to meet any eventuality arising from the side of Man Singh.[8] On it another party under

1. Briggs Report F. P, dated 26th April 1841, Prdg. 19-26 April 1841. S. No. 894 A. p 345.
   Marwar Khyat Vol: iv pp. 111-112.
2. A letter from Man Singh to G. G. received on 26th May 1833.. F P. 6th June 1833, No. 14
3. A letter from Alves to Macnaghten dated 18th Aug. 1834. F. P. 13th Sept. 1834, No. 10.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
   Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. A letter from Waddock to Alves dated 22nd Aug. 1834 F. P. 22nd Aug. 1834, No. 18. (Oct.)
9. Wilson: Vol. ix pp. 314-315,

Thakur Ranjit Singh of Khinwsar was sent[1] and it arrived at Ajmer on September 29[2] This time the party was able to come to an adjustment with the Agent in October, 1834[3]

According to the terms,[4] accepted by the Jodhpur party, the Maharaja agreed to pay compensation for the inroads caused on the frontiers of Kishangarh, Sirohi and Jaisalmer He also agreed to compensate the robbery and murder of Dr Mottley and subdue the *Thugs* It was also decided that he would pay rupees 10 to 12 lacs claimed by Sirohi for depredations and if any counter-claims against Sirohi were coming, they would be adjusted in favour of the Jodhpur government The party also agreed that the Maharaja would submit an apology for past misbehaviour, assure to promote future good relations with the British, pay rupees five lacs towards the cost of the military preparations, which the British had to make at Ajmer, within four months and furnish troops, hereafter, of an efficient mettle.

In order to keep vigilant guard over Man Singh, the British government took further steps. A military cantonment was established at Barmer[5] A share of the salt lake and district of Sambhar was taken over as security for the payments of the pecuniary demands upon the Maharaja[6] Merwara was further

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1. A letter from Alves to Secretary to G G dated 7th Oct 1834 R A O File No, 5, Jodhpur II 1834 Para 5
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid-dated 10th Oct. 1834 R A O File No 5 Jodhpur II 1834 p 155
4. A letter from Alves to Secretary to G G dated 9th October 1834 R A O File No 5 Jodhpur II 1834 pp 143-145; Wilson; Vol ix p 314
5. A letter from Man Singh to Alves received on 27th Oct 1834 I P 22nd Dec. 1834, No. 40.
6. A letter from William Bentinck to Man Singh dated 2nd Dec 1834 R A O File No 5 Jodhpur II 1834 pp 199-202 (See Appendix D) Wilson. Vol. ix p 314.

leased in October, 1835, for a period of nine years with additional seven villages.[1] In December the Jodhpur government was asked to make the annual payment of rupees 1,15 000 towards the Marwar Legion, which was then raised and stationed at Erinpura.[2]

The Middle East problem, which brought the clash of the vested interests of Britain and Russia in Afghanistan, posed a serious problem in 1835, for Melbourne Ministry. It was not in favour of pursuing a vigorous foreign policy. But the Governor General of India, Lord William Bentinck thought otherwise. He desired that the frontiers of British Empire should extend upto the Sind and the Western mountainous region of the Kirthar the Suleiman and the Hindukush. It involved an open war not only with Afghanistan but with Russia also. The ministry recalled William Bentinck in September, 1835. The charge was handed over to Sir Charles Metcalfe, the senior most member of the Council, who acted as Governor General until the arrival of Lord Auckland in March 1836. The new Governor General preferred to carry out the frontier policy on the lines of William Bentinck.[3]

Auckland realised that Marwar, which had been a tributory state since February 1818, could conveniently be used as a base for military action against the Sind and beyond. Hence, without losing time, he executed his plan to reach the 'scientific frontier'. The western tract of Marwar, Malani, was taken under

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1. Aitchison: T. E. S. Vol. iii pp. 132-133.

2. Ibid. p. 135.
   Erinpura is 25°9'N 73°4'E, about six miles from Erinpura Road Station on the Ajmer-Ahmadabad branch of Western Railway.

3. B. D. Basu: The Rise of Christian power in India Vol. V p. 39, 45; C. H. I Vol. V pp. 489-490.

the British control.[1] The salt manufacturing areas of Nawa, Gudha, Didwana and Marot were put under direct British administration[2] with a view to meeting the financial liability of maintaining forces in Malani. It was also proposed to put Jodhpur, Jaipur and Bikaner states under the direct control of one British superintendent.[3] It was recommended by Major Alves to Macnaghten, Secretary to Governor General, to forcibly remove Ladoo Nath and Bhim Nath, who had great influence over Man Singh.[4]

Man Singh protested against the occupation of Malani and other areas by the British and he pointed out that it would bring a great loss to the state revenues. He also objected their occupations on the ground that it meant interference in the internal affairs of the state.[5] Man Singh sent his own men under Dhum Das to contact the disgruntled elements against the British in the different parts of India in order to overthrow the British rule. The partisans were Mubaraz-ud-Daula, the brother of the Nizam, Raja of Satara, Gaikwar of Baroda, ruler of Nepal, Nawab of Banda, Afghan prince (probably Dost Muhammad), Prince of Sagaur, Nawab of Bhopal, Ranjit Singh and Appaji Bhonsle. The Russian, Persian and French politicians

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1. A letter from Secretary to G G to A Bush dated 26th Sept 1836 I P, 26th Sept. 1836 No 30;
   B D. Basu: Rise of Christian power in India Vol V p. 45
2. Letters from Alves to Macnaghten dated 25th Jan and 31st March 1838 R A O File No. 14 A Jodhpur II 1838, pp 42 and 100
3. A letter from Macnaghten to Alves dated 10th Jan 1838 R A. O File No 14 A Jodhpur II 1838, pp 7 8
4. A letter from Alves to Macnaghten dated 29th Jan 1838 F. P. 21st March 1838, No. 112
5. A letter from Man Singh to Alves received on Oct 27, 1836 F P. Dec. 2, 1836, No 40

were also contacted through Ranjit Singh It was so planned that as soon as the Russian and Persian armies arrived at the river Indus, Ranjit Singh would be joined by Man Singh and Nawab of Banda. Then all the Princes would attack simultaneously upon the British. With the help of the French regular forces, they would capture the British forts. However, the plan leaked out with the arrest of Dhum Das in November 1838.[1]

In the meantime, under the pretext of effecting permanent reforms at Jodhpur, the Governor General asked Alves to march on to Jodhpur, force the Maharaja's abdication and place on the throne of Jodhpur either Dhonkal Singh or a son of Man Singh said to have been born.[2] Alves, being ill, could not proceed. He was succeeded by Col. Sutherland on March 15, 1839.[3] Having taken over charge, the new Political Agent proceeded to Jodhpur on March 23,[4] with the intention of negotiating with the Maharaja regarding British claims[5] He also wanted to press Man Singh to assist the British against Dost Muhammad

1. A letter from Sutherland to Waddock dated 10th June 1839. F. P. 24th July 1839, No. 38;
   The report of the commission set in 1839-1840 for enquiring the role of Mubariz-ud-Daula engaged in a conspiracy against the British (Quoted in Freedom struggle in Hydrabad Vol. I (1800-1857) pp. 134-135.
2. A letter from Macnaghten to Alves dated 1st Nov. 1838.
   F. P. 26th Dec. 1838, No. 20;
   Marwar-Khyat Vol. iv/pp. 116-118.;
   A son was born on May 1, 1838 but died on April 20, 1839.
3. A report from Sutherland to Secretary to G./G. dated 7th Aug. 1847. F.P. 7th Aug. 1847. No. 845 p. 12.
4. A letter from Sutherland to Waddock dated 10th June 1839 F. P. 24th July 1839. No. 38.
5. A report from Sutherland to the Secretary to G. G. dated 7th Aug. 1847. F. P. 7th Aug. 1847. No. 845 p. 12. The claim was for rupees 10,10 186 and annas 2 only (Declaration on the part of G G. to the chiefs and people of Marwar by Sutherland dated 17th Aug. 1839 F. S. 6th Nov. 1839. No. 43).

in favour of Shah Shuja.[1] It was thought that it would enable them to keep Man Singh under their strict vigilance. He reached Jodhpur on April 3 and began negotiations from April 4, when a note was submited[2] regarding the payment of five years' arrears of the tribute and three years' arrears of the *sawar kharch*, reinstatement of the principal *Thakurs* of the state, and removal from the state council of those, who had set at defiance the supremacy of the British government [3] The negotiations continued for eight days but Man Singh did not commit anything.[4] In the course of the talks, Sutherland received information from Willoghby about the confederacy of the native states and chiefs of India against the British government at the head of which Maharaja Man Singh was believed to have placed himself [5] His apprehension of Man Singh's duplicity was confirmed when he saw that the embassy from Nepal was cordially received by the Maharaja.[6] On this he dropped all communications with Man Singh on April 25 [7] He made a plan to place Dhonkal Singh on the throne but the situation was not favourable due to the opposition of the Naths.[8] He left Jodhpur on June 8, but informed the Maharaja through a letter, dated June 14, 1839, that he had dismissed his *Vakil*, who had been

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1. A letter from Sutherland to Waddock dated 10th June 1839, F. P. 24th July 1839, No 38.
2. Ibid
3. A letter from Sutherland to Man Singh dated 14th June 1839. F. P 24th July 1839 No, 36
4. A letter from Sutherland to Waddock dated 10th June 1839 F. P. 24th July 1839, No. 38
5. Ibid
6. Ibid
7. Ibid
8. Ibid

accredited to him, and that he failed in the fulfilment of his engagement to his government, as such had violated the condition of the treaty. He furthr informed him that his territories had been placed beyond the pale of the British protection.[1]

On receiving the orders from the Governor General,[2] a war was declared by Sutherland on Jodhpur on August, 17.[3] He proceeded towards Jodhpur with a thousand cavalry, 3,000 infantry and 12 field artillery under Brigadier Rich on August 28.[4] The dissatisfied chiefs of Marwar also joined him on the way with 1,500 force.[5] The Maharaja also prepared to resist the onslaught and encamped outside the city for this purpose.[6] But finding the British superior in strength he expressed his desire to negotiate with them.[7] Sutherland paid no heed to it and occupied the fort of Jodhpur on September 19, and placed it under a British garrison.[8]

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1. A letter from Sutherland to Man Singh dated 14th June 1839. F. P. 24th July 1839, No 36.

2. A letter from Torrens to Sutherland dated 9th Aug. 1839. F. S. 9th Oct. 1839, No. 32.

3. A declaration on the part of G. G. to the chiefs and people of Marwar by Sutherland, dated 17th Aug. 1839. F. S. 6th Nov. 1839, No. 43.

4. A letter from Sutherland to Waddock dated 20th Oct. 1839. F. P. 24th Feb. 1840, No. 34;

   A report from Sutherland to the Secretary to G. G. dated 7th Aug. 1847 F. P. 7th Aug. 1847, No. 845. pp. 19-20.

5. Ibid;
   Marwar-Khyat Vol. iv pp. 116-117.

Ibid.

Ibid.

8. A letter from Sutherland to Waddock dated 20th Sept. 1839. F. P. 8th Jan. 1840, No. 96.

When Man Singh was deprived of the entire strength, Sutherland dictated his own terms.[1] According to which Man Singh agreed to remove Naths from his goverment, reconstitute the new council of the state accommodating the dissatisfied chiefs and to act according to the advice of the Political Agent of Jodhpur.[2] Having appointed Ludlow as the political Agent at Jodhpur[3] with a garrison at his disposal, Sutherland departed from there on December 4, 1839.[4] When he again returned to Jodhpur on February 25, 1840,[5] he found some reform in the conduct of Man Singh.[6] He, therefore, restored the fort of Jodhpur to Man Singh on February 28, 1840.[7]

However, the Maharaja did not like the idea of banishing the Naths from Marwar. He maintained secret communications with them and acted in a manner that their influence might again revive in Jodhpur.[8] It was regularly objected to by the Political Agent.[9] Subsequently, Ludlow got two chief Naths arrested by the British forces and sent them to Ajmer.[10] When

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1. Ibid-dated 20th Oct. 1839. F. P, 24th Feb. 1840 No. 34; A report from Sutherland to the Secretary to G. G. dated 7th Aug. 1847 F. P. 7th Aug 1847, No. 845 p. 29, 32.
2. Ibid. Aitchison : T. E. S. Vol. iii pp. 135-137.
3. A letter from Sutherland to Davidson dated 18th Feb. 1840. F. P. 27th March 1840, No. 55.
4. A letter from Sutherland to Hamilton dated 2nd March 1840 F. P 27th March 1840, No. 57.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Letters from Ludlow to Man Singh dated 30th March 1841 [illegible] April 1841. Kharita Bahi No. 13 pp. 427-430 [illegible]
9. Ibid.
10. A letter from Ludlow the Sutherland dated 3rd May 1843 [illegible] No. 14 A Jodhpur IX. 1843. pp. [illegible]

Man Singh was asked to go to Delhi and see the Governor General at the end of 1842 to discuss the problem of the Naths, he refused to go on the pretext of his ill health.[1] At the same time, he looked with favour at the case of the resumption of Sindia's *jagir* of Akolee.[2] In the beginning of 1843 he showed his intention to resume the conduct of the public affairs in a way to get the Naths released.[3] When he could not be brought round, the British authorities proposed in June 1843 to dethrone him and place the next in succession on his *Gaddi*.[4] But nothing could be done immediately to that effect and before long, Man Singh died on September 5, 1843.[5]

1. A report from Sutherland to the Secretary to G. G. dated 7th Aug. 1847. F. P. 7th Aug. 1847. No. 845 pp. 41 and 43.
2. See pages 193-194.
3. A letter from Ludlow to Sutherland 14th May 1843 R. A. O. File No. 14 A, Jodhpur IX 1843 pp, 136-144.
4. A letter from Secertary to G. G. to Sutherland dated 23rd June 1843. R. A. O. File No. 14 A. Jodhpur IX 1843, p. 1843, p. 198.
5. A report from Sutherland to the Secretary to G. G. dated 7th Aug. 1847. F. P. 7th Aug. 1847, No. 845 p. 44.

CHAPTER VII

A General Review of the Period

No ruling family in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century ever put up so consistent and stubborn a resistance against the establishment of Maratha and British rule in Northern India as did the Rathors of Marwar. The story of Marwar's resistance against the Marathas and later on against the British is a splendid record of martial and glorious deeds as well as of the noble actions of the rulers and the people alike. The admiration one feels for their heroic character enhances, as one reflects, that the tiny state had no adequate resources and had to fight against heavy odds. The causes of the strength that Marwar showed in defending herself, therefore, deserve to be examined.

The most potent fact that kept them engaged for a century in a war against the Marathas and the British was the force of tradition of resistance. Belief in the purity of their descent and in the mission they were called upon to fulfil as inherited from Sihaji and Jodhaji to fight the enemies, gave the rulers and the people a sense of self-respect and confidence, which animated them in many a dark hour of their resistance. Even when they accepted the overlordship of the Mughals, they did not deviate from the traditional spirit to fight against the evil-doers; that is why the Mughals dared not to challenge their dynastic hold in Marwar. When they did, after the death of Jaswant Singh, from 1678 to 1707, the people rose in arms, and their resistance not only succeeded in re-establishing their

traditional institution but it contributed to the fall of the Mughal empire.

The traditions and racial factors were intensified by the existence of a chain of notable forts all round Marwar like Merta, Nagor, Jodhpur, Didwana and Jalor.[1] The defiles in the Aravali region of east Marwar and desert land in the north-west helped the rulers in their purpose to fall back in times of adversity and continue the resistance against the invaders.[2] They bred in them a love for freedom, made the defensive operations comparatively easier and inspired confidence and strength in them.

Equally important was the existence of feudalism with patriotic nobles, always ready to lay down their lives for the glory of the ruling dynasty and the country. The institution though a negation of political authority elsewhere, was one of the most powerful institutions in Marwar. The social structure was like an institution which could supply warriors at the time of war at a minutes call.[3]

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1. Holkar and Sindia in 1736 laid a siege of the fort of Merta (S.P.D. xiv 14); Jayappa Sindia could not take Nagor fort despite a long siege in 1754-1755. The siege brought his murder (S.P.D. xxi 67, 69; xxvii 106,116);
The fort of Jodhpur successfully resisted the invasion of Amir Khan and the Marathas in 1807.
(P.R.C. xi 230);
Jalor fort saved Man Singh from the hands of his cousin Bhim Singh.
(Tod : Vol. ii pp. 1079-1080);
Anurudh Singh, after his defeat at the hands of the Marathas in Oct. 1755, could secure a safe asylum by placing himself in the fort of Didwana (S.P.D. xxi 76, 77).
2. The rulers always kept their stronghold at Nagor for its' beyond is the desert where they could withdraw in case emergency arose. Bijay Singh during the siege of Nagor shifted to Bikaner side, a city in the desert.
(S P.D. (New series) Vol. I 186)
3. Out of the 24 chief nobles mentioned by Tod, only two were foreigners. They all were of the same tribe.
(Vol. ii p. 1120).

But these conditions could not hold good under all circumstances and at all times. The flower of Rajput chivalry, which bloomed in war about one hundred and sixty years continuously, since the death of Jaswant Singh in 1678, could not go on keeping its rosy glow for ever and betrayed signs of withering at the beginning of 19th century and even earlier. We cannot lose sight of the fact that the nobles of this period preferred their personal interest to the general interest of the state. The desertion of the Rathors under Ram Singh, the ex-Raja of Jodhpur to Jajappa Sindia[1] proved baneful to the state. The leading fief-holders of Jodhpur, Sawai Singh of Pokran and his associates, the Mertias and Champaots deserted their ruler Man Singh and brought the Marathas and Pindaris to attack Marwar.[2] Even the crown prince also sided with the enemies.[3] Hence, in order to maintain their independent dignity and counteract the actions of such nobles the Rathor rulers had to enlist mercenaries from neighbouring areas.[4]

From the later years of Bijay Singh, we notice a kind of general degeneration in the fighting class of Marwar. Tod has graphically described it, when he wrote[5] the result of the first grape-shots by De Boigne's brigade on the battle field of

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In the battle of Patan fought on June 20, 1790 the Rathor casualty was the heaviest, but the ruler could collect 36,000 soldiers within four months and come to Merta to resist the Marathas on September 10, 1790

1 S.P D xxi 603
S P D. (New series) Vol I, 177

2 P R C. xi 210, 224, 225

3 Hakikat Bahi No. 10 p 843
A letter from Metcalfe to J Adams dated 2nd Dec 1815
F P 13th Jan 1816, No. 27

4 Tod : Vol ii p 1067

5 Ibid. pp 879-880

Dangawas on September 10, 1790. "All was confusion. The resistance was feeble. Civil commanders took to flight. The alarm reached the more distant quarters of the brother-in-arms, the chiefs of Awa and Asop. The latter was famed for the immense quantity of opium he consumed; and with difficulty could his companion awake him, with the appalling tidings, 'the camp has fled and we are left alone'." Such a condition could not offer the desired opposition to the wanton aggression of the Marathas, who freely ravaged their country and drained the resources of the state. When this gradual deterioration was marked in every walk of life, the rulers of Marwar were reduced to a tributory state of the Marathas. The incoming British authority also took advantage of the position to which they were posted.

THE MARATHA IMPACT ON MARWAR

(A) Political :

The Maratha expansion in the North began with the realisation of *chauth* and *sardesmukhi*. As such, Marwar became a *saranjami* of the Marathas in the year 1728, when Baji Rao bestowed it on Holkar.[1] Though from time to time (in 1736,[2] 1741,[3] and 1748[4]) Holkar visited Marwar to collect the tribute yet the Rathor territory really became a tributory of the Marathas only in 1756, when its ruler agreed to pay its regular tribute to Sindia.[5] It remained as such upto 1818.[6]

1. S.P.D (New series) Vol. I. 6.
2. S.P.D. xiv 14.
3. Ibid. xxvii 2.
4. Dayal Das Khyat Vol. ii leafs. 71-72; Marwar-Khyat Vol. ii p. 160.
5. S.P.D. xxi 82; Aiti. Patren 142; Dayal Das Khyat Vol. ii. leaf 82.
6. Aitchison : T. E. S. Vol iii pp. 128-129.

The Marathas had no other political relation with Marwar except that of the collection of the tribute regulalty [1]

In the early years of the contact of Marwar with the Marathas, Marwar was a *saranjami* and the Peshwa was represented by a *pandit* at the capital of the Rathors [2] After Marwar became a tribute-paying state to the Marathas, the Peshwa sent his *Vakils* to represent him in the state [3] The *Vakil* sent daily reports about Marwar affairs, received instructions from the Peshwa and communicated news regarding the movemen s of the Maratha leaders He was responsible for collecting the tribute He also maintained accounts and was helped by other officials in running his office In short, he was a collector of the tribute and rep esentative of the Marathas in the state [4] Soon after, the treaty of 1756, the Maratha envoy appointed by the Peshwa was one *pandit* Sada Shiva, who was also asked to collect the tribute from Ram Singh's portion of the divid-d Marwar [5] Krishnaji Jagan Nath was another important *Vakil* who remained in the court of Bijay Singh for a long time [6] With the growing influence of Sindia the rulers of Marwar paid

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1 A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 7th day of the bright-half of Asvin vs 1843 Sept 29 1786
Pf vs I N 65 Jd;
Hath Bahi No I p 134 Jd

2 A letter from Baji Rao to Jay Singh dated 7th day of the dark-half of Ashadha vs 1788 June 15 1731 (KS) JP

3 JY 2
Hath Bahi No I p 134 Jd;
Ratl or Daneshwar Vamshaval p 408 vs 665

4 SSRS Vol I 11, 18 19 20 160

5 Ratl or Daneshwar Vamshavali p 408 vs 665

6 JY 1 26
SSRS vol II 122

the tribute to the Sindia. Mahadaji kept his own agents at Jodhpur. *Pandit* Rama Rao Sada Shiva represented Mahadaji from 1791 to 1793.[1] These *Vakils* also took keen interest in the internal affairs of Marwar. Both Rama Rao Sada Shiva and Krishnaji Jagan Nath helped Bhim Singh to gain the throne of Marwar, after the death of Bijay Singh in July, 1793.[2]

Next to the *Vakil*, the most important Maratha official was *Kamvisdar*. He was purely a reveune officer and looked after the Maratha interest in the region. He used to be present in the villages at the time of harvest and collected the Maratha share then and there, so as to avoid delay in the payment. Occasionally he collected his share also from the custom duties of the towns. He was also assigned the duty to supervise the work of *naib kamvisdars* and keep the *Vakil* informed about the activities of the Maharaja's officers. Besides him, *Jadnavis, chitnis, arzinavis, majmudars, amaldars karkuns, muksdars* etc. sent by the Peshwa from time to time helped the *Vakil* in maintaining the accounts and collecting the tribute. However, the ultimate responsibility of all the affairs, concerning the Maratha interest in the state, rested on the *Vakil*.[3]

Besides the *Vakil*, the Peshwa appointed special envoys, who also acted as leaders of the Maratha forces. Bapuji Sindia and Amir Khan played vital roles as political agents of Daulat Rao Sindia and Yasvant Rao Holkar in the affairs of Marwar from 1811 to 1817. Amir Khan, as referred to above,[4] had his hand in the murder of Inder Raj Singhvi in 1815 and the

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1. A letter from Bhim Singh to Mahadaji dated 9th day of the bright-half of Ashadha vs, 1849/July 17, 1793 AB iv p. 50. Jd.
2. Ibid.
3. JY. 1-26;
   S.S.I.S. Vol. I, 6, 17, 48, 151; Vol. ii. 41, 122.
   Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali p. 408. vv. 665.
4. See pages 165-166.

abdication of Man Singh two years later The Maratha envoys on diplomatic mission were given great receptions on their arrival [1] The state was responsible for the security of their person and looked after their comforts.[2] These envoys helped the rulers of Marwar, when asked for, to crush internal revolts and in return, they received handsome remuneration, besides the cost of the military expeditions Mahadaji responded a call, communicated to him through his envoy at Jodhpur, from Bijay Singh to recognise his nominee, Sher Singh as *Yuvraj*, and help him to crush the revolt of his refractory son Zalim Singh.[3]

The rulers of Jodhpur also sent their representatives to the court of Sindia at Gwalior. These agents were properly looked after by Sindia. One Vyas Jas Karan remained at Gwalior, as Rathor envoy from 1813–1818. His comfortable stay was Sindia's concern Though he was paid rupees four hundred monthly from Jodhpur treasury, 'yet Sindia had to meet his expenses, as the payment of his salary was not regular and at times it took years to pay the arrears.[4]

The rulers of Jodhpur also employed the Marathas in their states during the period under review Gopal Trimbak Rao was employed by Abhay Singh, on recommendation from Holkar in Feb 1747, on a yearly salary of rupees four hundred.[5] One Baje Rao, a specialist in the accounts, sent by Daulat Rao Sindia

1 Hakikat Bahi no. 5, p 190, Jd

2 Ibid, No viii p 450; No. ix pp 2-4 37 Jd

3 A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 14th day of the bright-half of Pausha vs. 1848/Jan 8, 1792 AB iv, p 48 Jd

4 Letter dated 5th day of the dark-half of Chaitra vs 1875/March 16, 1818 file concerning Khato-Kitab no 30 (DK) Jd

5 SPLS Vol II 41

to Marwar,[1] proved very helpful. He was posted incharge of Jodhpur *Katcheri* in 1827.[2] Important *Rukkas, Peshkashi* records and other revenue records were under his custody.[3]

Sometimes deserters from the forces of the Marathas secured jobs in the Rathor army. The infantry of Hira Singh who was formerly in the service of Sirji Rao Ghatka, was employed by Man Singh in the year 1808.[4] Dan Singh, a former military officer in the pay of the Maratha governor of Ajmer, secured a job under Man Singh in 1817.[5]

Those Maratha leaders, who were the recepients of the confidence of the rulers received *jagirs* from the Maharajas from time to time. Certain villages like Gangva[6] in the Parbatsar district, Harsor[7] in Degana district, Paduvali and Akeli in Merta district,[8] and Mandal[9] in the east of Marwar were Maratha

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1. Khas-Rukka to Baje Rao dated 2nd day of the bright-half of Bhadrapada vs, 1890/August 2, 1833 AB. v. p. 73. Jd.
2. Letter dated 5th day of the bright-half of Karttika vs. 1884/Oct. 25, 1827, file concerning Jama-Kharch No, 44 (DK) Jd.
3. Hath Bahi No. 4. p, 182. Jd,
4. P.R.C. xi. 267;
   A letter from Man Singh to Daulat Rao dated 3rd day of the bright-half of the Bhadrapada vs, 1865/Aug. 24, 1808. AB. v. p. 10
5. P.R.C. xiv 321;
   Hakikat Bahi No. x. p. 118.
6. A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 14th day of the dark-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1835/Aug. 21, 1778.
   AB. iv. p. 37. Jd.
7. A letter from Daulat Rao Mahaji Rao Bable to Bijay Singh dated 13th day of the dark-half of Sravana vs. 1848/July 27, 1791. Pf. vi. LN. 60. Jd.
8. A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 1st day of the bright-half of Ashadha vs. 1847/July 2, 1791. AB. iv. p. 46. Jd.;
   A letter from Spiers to Sutherland dated Jan. 14, 1842. R.A.O. File No. 27, Jod. 1842. p. 1.
9. A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 14th day of the dark-half of Vaisaka vs. 1848/April 20, 1792 AB. iv. p 49. Jd.

jagirs. Some villages, like Makrana were given in *Inam*.[1] The villages of Bhasudi and Rugoli in Godwad were allotted to the family of Jaswant Rao Holkar to meet the expenses during its stay in Marwar.[2] The expenses for the maintenance of the *Chhatri* of Jayappa Sindia at Tausar, near Nagor, were met from the revenues of the village Kudoli[3] The rulers under their seal issued proper *sanads* and copper plates for the grant of these villages.[4] If the officials of the state or the *Jagirdar* of the neighbouring territory interfered in these villages the state was responsible to safeguard the Maratha interest.[5] Whenever the state resumed any of their villages, an alternative arrangement was also made.[6]

This contact became closer when several Maratha families sought asylum at the Rathor court. The family of *Kavi* Kalash, which moved in 1706 to Marwar after the martyrdom of the poet, resided at Bilara Durga Das asked the *Hakim* of Merta to meet its expenditure at the rate of rupee one and fifteen annas

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1 Ibid-dated 12th day of the bright half of Bhadrapada vs 1848/Sept. 9 1791. AB iv p 47 Jd

2 Hakikat Bahi No ix p 37 Jd

3 A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 1st day of the bright half of Ashadha vs 1847/July 2, 1791 AB iv p 45 Jd

4 A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 5th day of the bright-half of Bhadrapada vs 1840/Sept. 1 1783 Pf vi. LN 45 Jd
Ibid-dated 4th day of the dark-half of Bhadrapada vs 1848/Aug 17, 1791 Pf vi LN. 61 Jd.

5 A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 14th day of the dark-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1835 Aug 21, 1778 AB iv p 371
A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 5th day of the bright half of Bhadrapada vs 1840 Sept 1 1783 Pf vi LN 451
A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 4th day of the bright half of Jyeshtha vs. 1849 June 13 1793 AB iv. p 50 Jd.

6 A letter from Bhim Singh to Daulat Rao Sindia dated 13th day of the bright half of Karttika vs 1852/Nov 24 1795
AB iv. p 53 Jd

per day.[1] Laxman Anant, popularly known as Lakhwa Dada, when revolted against Daulat Rao Sindia, sent his family to Jodhpur in 1800 A.D.[2] Jaswant Rao Holkar's family stayed in Marwar for four years—1805-1809.[3] Appaji Bhonsle passed the last twelve years of his life at Jodhpur and on his death in 1840 a state funeral was arranged.[4]

(B) Economic impact:

The economic relations of the Marathas and the Rathors are evident from the treaty signed between Bijay Singh and Jankoji Sindia in February, 1756, by which the former agreed, in principle, to pay the tribute to the Marathas regularly.[5] The amount fixed was rupees 1,50,000 a year.[6] It included the payment of *Nazrana*.[7] After the annexation of Godwad, its tribute was fixed at rupees 30,000 per annum.[8] The tribute of Godwad was not shared between Holkar and the Peshwa, but it was paid only to Sindia.[9] The rulers did not pay the

1. A letter from Durga Das to Dewan Bhagwan Das of Aiji's temple, Bilara dated 13th day of the bright-half of Ashadha vs. 1762/July 12, 1706. Kashinagari Pracharni Patrika Vol. I.
2. P. R, C. ix. 14.
3. Hakikat Bahi no. ix. pp. 2-4. Jd.
4. A letter from Ludlow to Sutherland dated July 15, 1840. (Enclosed with the letter from Sutherland to Torrens dated July 18, 1840. F. P. Aug. 3. 1840. No. 123.)
5. S.P.D. xxi. 82; Aiti. Patren 142.
6. A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 5th day of the dark-half of Jyeshtha vs. 1826/June 8, 1769. Pf. vi. LN. 9, Jd.
7. Ibid-dated 1st day of the bright-half of Pausha vs. 1847/Jan. 5, 1791. Pf. vi. LN. 67. Jd.
8. Ibid-dated 5th day of the dark-half of Chaitra vs. 1829/March 23, 1772, Pf. vi, LN, 20. 21.
9. Ibid.

tribute regularly but paid it at intervalas. It resulted in the non-payment of about 10% of the amount [1] A remission of about 20% was generally made by Sindia to the Maharaja [2]

The tribute was a regular tax on the rulers of Jodhpur by which the Marathas assured the safety of the rulers from their inroads [3] It was not binding on their part to help them against their enemies If such a situation arose, they (rulers) would contribute extra money. In 1748, Abhay Singh secured the help of Holkar against his brother, Bakht Singh by paying rupees 11,000 per day.[4] Ram Singh authorised his agent *Pandit* Jagan Nath to purchase the help of Holkar or Sindia in 1751 by offering two months' advance for a force of 10 to 12 thousand [5] Even Bakht Singh secretly offered rupees two lacs to Holkar through Raj Singh Chohan, so that he might not help Ram Singh [6] Man Singh paid rupees 2,00,000 when he asked for Holkar's help against Jagat Singh of Jaipur in 1807.[7]

The delay in the payment of the tribute was a general feature. The Maratha generals and agents visited Marwar time and again demanding the arrears, which were agreed to be paid in instalments The amount paid to Mahadaji in the years vs

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1 A letter from Metcalfe to J Adams dated Jan 15, 1818 F,S Feb 6, 1818 No 101

2 Ibid

3 A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 7th day of the bright-half of Asvina vs. 1843/29th Sept 1786 PC 6, LN 55

4 Marwar Khyat li p, 160

5 Hingane Daftar-Vol I 59

6 Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali p 366 vs 413

7 A letter from A Seton to N B Edmonstone dated Jan. 29 1807 F P Feb 12, 1807 No 96

1835-1839/1778-1782 in regular instalments[1] was as follows: The amount fixed for the period of five years was rupees 9,00,000 at the rate of 1,80,000 a year. The remission given was 2,00,000. Out of the balance, rupees 6,00,000 was deposited in cash and 1,00,000 in kind. The first instalment of rupees 2 lacs was to be sent in the month of *Jyeshta* vs 1840/May, 1784. However, when the actual payment was made, it was sent in two instalments. The first consisted of 80,000 *Bijay-Shahi* rupees and was sent on second day of the dark-half of *Sravana* vs. 1841 (July 4, 1784). Sindia gave a receipt of rupees, 1,00 000 in *Brindabani* currency through Kripa Ram. The Second instalment of rupees 1,00,000 *Bijayshahi* was sent on the eighth day of the dark-half of *Phalguna* vs. 1841 (February 2. 1785) to Mahadaji, out of which rupees 21,000 were remitted as exchange deduction. The amount was distributed among his officials. The money fixed by Bijay Singh for Mahadaji after the battle of Merta, was paid in the following instalments [2]

			Rupees	Annas
Cash ..	vs, 1847/1790 A.D.	through Budh Singh	7,23,033	1.3
Hundis to be encashed at Jaipur	vs. 1848/1791 A.D.	through Khichi Sobha	3,10,079	12.0
Juhar (*offer*) in (*both in* cash and in *Bharna*)	vs. 1848/1791 A.D.	through Vyas Deo Kishan and *Pandit* Sitab Rai	1,30,000	0.0

1. Hath Bahi ii pp. 124-125. Exchange ratio of the currency of Bijayshahi : Brindabani was 1:1. 29. (Sadashiva to Mehta Akhay Chand dated 9th day of the bright-half of Jyeshtha vs. 1862/May 27, 1806. AB v p. 97.

2. File concerning Jama-Kharch No. 44 (DK) Jd.

The war indemnity was also paid in instalments If it was paid regular a remission was made by the Marathas [1]

Sometimes villages were given to the Marathas in *Ijaras* [2] Bijay Singh gave the *Paragnas* of Merta, Didwana and Nawa on September 17, 1792 to the Marathas to adjust the payment of rupees 1,64 000 due to him [3] There were different systems of payment. The ruler asked his *shahukars* to pay the amount to the Marathas on his behalf and the state amount was adjusted by paying the *shahukars* later on [4] Sometimes the Marathas demanded advance payment of the tribute which was later on regularised in their account of the tribute [5] The payment was also made through *Bharna* (miscellaneous articles) in which elephants, camels, horses, oxen, ornaments, valuable clothes and jewels were offered [6] Sometimes various articles were purchased and sent to Sindia and Holkar and the cost was

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1 A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 1st day of the bright half of Pausha vs 1847 Jan 5 1791 Pf vi LN 57

2 A letter from Singhvi Inder Raj to Najar Moti Ram dated 7th day of the dark-half of Phalguna vs 1864/18th Feb 1808 AB-5 p 245

3 File concerning Jama Kharch No 44 (DK) Jd

4 Ibid

5 In the year 1766 A D Mahadaji took his share from Marwar The Peshwa agreed that the amount already paid to Mahadaji would not be paid (A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 12th day of the dark-half of Jyeshtha vs 1823/June 4 1766 AD, No iv p 24 Jd., S P D, xxix pp 129);

Gadhwa Fakirji secured rupees 25 000 (553 gold coins worth rupees ten thousand and hundies of rupees 15 000) to be encashed at Jaipur in 1791 The amount was adjusted in the final payment of the tribute to Mahadaji in 1792 (File concerning Jama Kharch no 44 (DK) Jd)

6. On January 5 1792 four elephants at the total cost of rupees ten thousand 477 camels each costing rupees 200 and 477 pairs of oxen at the rate of rupees 125 per pair were sent to Mahadaji (File concerning Jama-Kharch No 44 (DK) Jd)

credited towards their tribute.[1] The state authorities also paid the arrears of the Maratha forces and necessary deductions were made from the amount of the tribute.[2] Every general of the Marathas employed by Sindia would receive his share from the tribute and it was the responsibility of the ruler to pay it.[3]

It is certain that most of these agreements were respected only on paper. The actual payments, made in instalments were not very often a big sum. But whatsoever be the amount paid, it was an unbearable burden on the finances of the state. The rulers agreed to pay such a big amount, as was beyond their means, only to ward off the danger of the Maratha inroads for the time being. The agreement was never honoured. The result was that the Marathas encroached on the land of Marwar with full force, devastated the land and destroyed food and fodder.[4] The rulers, in order to meet the heavy burden of the demands, levied extra taxes on the people. Bijay Singh imposed *Rekh Bab* on his *Jagirdars*. *Peshkas* or *Hukamnama* tax was doubled. It caused disontentment among *Jagirdars* and the people. The Maratha inroads brought nothing but anarchy and disorder in the civil life of the state.[5]

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1. Dhan Singh took rupees four thousand in 1792 from the state to purchase valuables for Mahadaji. This amount was deducted from Mahadaji's tribute. (file concerning Jama-Kharch No. 44. DK. Jd.);
   Ambaji Ingle gave a receipt of a necklace of pearls sent by Bhim Singh through Vyas Akhay Ram.
   (A letter from Ambaji Ingle to Bhim Singh dated 7th day of the bright-half of Karttika vs. 1856/Nov. 4. 1799. Pf. ii B. LN. 6. Jd.)

2. In the year 1792 on the security of Pandit Rama Rao Sadashiva rupees twenty thousand were given to Dhan Singh for the payment of the army. (File concerning Jama Kharch No. 44. (DK). Jd.)

3. *A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh* dated 5th day of the bright half of Jyeshtha vs. 1826/8th June 1769 Pf. 6 LN. 8,

4. Ibid.

5. F.P. Sept. 26, 1836. No. 36.

The Marathas were not satisfied with the collection of tribute only. whenever they led military force against the state, they demanded extra levies. After the battle of Merta in 1790, Mahadaji demanded the expenses covering *Fauj Kharch*, *Darbra-Kharcha*, *Khasa-Sawari*, *Barad* and *Bolan*[1] The total demand amounted to rupees 60,00,001.[2] Bapuji Sindia also realised the levies in the years 1812-1818. Besides these, Bapuji took *Bhent Holi*, *Bhent-Dusherah*, *Bhent Ganesh-Choth* on the occasion of these festivals [3]

Sometimes an extra tax was collected from the people of the state named as '*Ghori-Barad*' or '*Ghasadana*'. The rate was four annas per *bigha* from peasants and from others rupee one per family. From *Jagirdars* it was fixed on the basis of their annunal income.[4] Besides these, fines, presents, *Nazrana* (Succession presents) *Tika* (presents) were regularly paid to the Marathas by the Jodhpur authorities as their sources permitted. If their demands were not complied with, reminders were sent and delay would bring threats of military action and devastations [5]

The Marathas did not care for the lawful collection of the money. They at times, took possession of the goods of the

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1. A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 1st day of the bright-half of Pausha vs 1847/Jan 5, 1791. Pf. vi LN. 57 Jd.
2. Ibid
   Fauj-Kharch— Money required for the maintenance of the army.
   Barad— A tax levied on different callings.
   Darbar Kharch—Tax levied on the maintenance of the court
   Bolan— It means Bolava a guard tax
3. A report from F. Wilder to David Ochterlony dated, September 27, 1818 R A, Ajm Rec.
4. Vs. 1817 Basta no 58, Bhandar. 1 Kota Rec.
   Ghori—Barad or Ghasdana was tax levied to keep away the Maratha light horse The rate was four annas per bigha
5. A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 5th day of dark-half of Chaitra vs 1829 23rd March, 1772 Pf 6 LN 18 Jd.

traders,[1] and at times, kept the traders under their custody for ransom purposes.[2] They also did not pay the regular custom of the state when purchases of articles were made in the state territories.[3] They insisted that the traders coming from their side should be provided with all facilities of their safety in their territories.[4] Sometimes, the rulers made arrangements, at their cost to supply food-grains and salt, required by the Maratha army on march through Marwar territory.[5]

(C) Social and Cultural Contacts :

The contemporary records throw some light on Rathor-Maratha social relations, which emerged from their occasional contacts extending for about a century. The stay of Maharaja Jasvant Singh in the Deccan from 1667 to 1670 gave an opportunity to both the communities to come nearer and develop friendly relations. The Maharaja sent rich presents, consisting of three horses, three *Khasas*, one *thardar* head dress and ten camels to Shivaji. Shivaji, in his turn, gave one horse and rupees one thousand to each of the three emissaries sent to him by the Maharaja in August, 1667. Shambhuji, on his diplom-

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1. A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 7th day of the brigh--half of Pausha vs. 1832/28th Dec. 1775. AB. 4. p. 35. Jd.
2. A letter from Man Singh to Bapuji Sindia dated 3rd day of the bright-half of Vaisaka vs. 1864/28th April 1808·AB.5.pp. 42-43 Jd.
3. A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 4th day of the dark-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1848/17th Aug. 1791 Pf. 6. LN. 61. Jd.
   A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 6th day of the bright-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1849/Aug. 26,1792 AB-4 p. 133. Jd.
4. A letter from Tukoji Holkar to Bijay Singh dated 6th day of the dark-half of Ashadha vs. 1841/9th June 1784 Pf. 2B (1) LN. 4. Jd.
5. A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji Sindia dated 1st day of the dark-half of Pausha vs. 1848/11th Dec. 1791 AB 4 p. 48;
   A letter from Man Singh to Jasvant Rao dated 4th day of the dark-half of Vaisaka vs. 1869/19th April 1813, AB. 5. p. 61. Jd.

atic mission to Prince Muazzam in Oct. Nov., 1667 stayed with Jasvant Singh as a guest. The Rathor ruler entertained him with all due respects required on such occasions. At his departure, Shambhuji received two horses, one pair of *panchua* and one than of cloths. For Shivaji one *jewelled* dagger and nine *thans* of cloths were presented by the Maharaja.[1]

During his stay in the Deccan, Jaswan Singh also developed an affection for the land of Maharastra and its people. He founded a small town, Jaswantpura,[2] named after him. Durga Das' visit and stay in Maharastra in between 1681-1087 brought him in closer relation with Kavi Kalash, the favourite minister of Shambhuji. He became the *Rakhi-bandh-bhai* of his wife [3] On the eve of the battle of Dabhoi, April 1731, Baji Rao lived with Maharaja Abhay Singh as a guest. He was *recipient* of Rathor hospitality during his stay at Shahibag in Ahmedabad for a month. The Peshwa presented robes of Honour to Abhay Singh, Ram Singh and Bakht Singh in April, 1739.[4] Malhar Rao became the closest Maratha friend of Abhay Singh in 1748, when he visited him at Pushkar The Maharaja gave him a Royal reception and provided encampment for his party near his residence. Both, the Rathor chief and the Maratha leader dined on

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1 Marwar Khyat Vol. I pp. 241-242

2. The town was situated in the district of Burhanpur. eight miles north of Asirgarh. He constructed palaces on the banks of the river for his residence. They were surrounded by a garden, modelled on Mughal pattern The revenue of this town was deposited in the state treasury at Jodhpur. Later on, when the Rathors paid tribute to Sindia, its tribute was also fixed at rupees 171/-a year. The British annexed it in 1826 A. D (Hath Bahi No iv pp. 178-179)

3. A letter from Durga Das to Dewan Bhagwan Das of Alji's temple, Bilara. dated 13th day of the bright-half of Ashadhe vs 1763 July 12, 1706. published in Kashi-pracharni Patrika Vol I, article by Munshi Devi Prasad on 'Kavi Kalash.'

4. S. P. D. xxx, 374.

the same table. They exchanged their turbans and called themselves as *Dharambhai*.[1] Henceforth, the relation of the houses of Holkar and the Rathor were very amicable.

The inter-relations of both the families grew closer as time passed on. Whenever, a new ruler succeeded to the throne of Jodhpur, the Holkar house sent *tika* with valuable presents for the ruler. Ram Singh, who succeeded Abhay Singh in 1749, received an elephant and clothes as presents.[2] Malhar Rao's relation with Bijay Singh were also cordial.[3] *Pandit* Balwant Rao brought tika, on behalf of Holkar for Man Singh on January 10, 1804.[4] Thus, presentation of the tika to the house of the Rathors became a regular feature for the Holkar family. The meeting of Man Singh and Jasvant Rao Holkar in June-October 1806[5] further cemented the social relations between the two families.

The rulers of Marwar on their part, also sent tika, whenever a new successor sat on the throne at Indore. Bijay Singh sent tika for Tukoji Holkar, who succeeded Malhar Rao in 1769, with his agents Asopa Naval Rai and *Pandit* Jivan Ram.[6] He attended to the occasional demands of the Holkar family for the articles needed by its members. In 1764, Malhar Rao asked for a pair of oxen of fine breed. The demand was immediately

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1. Marwar Khyat Vol. ii p. 159;
   Vamsh Bhaskar Vol. iv pp. 3534-3542.

2. Marwar Khyat, Vol. ii p. 164.

3. A letter from Bijay Singh to Jasvant Rao Bable dated 12th day of the dark-half of Magha vs. 1825/February 3, 1769. AB No. iv p. 84. Jd.

4. Hakikat Bahi no. viii p. 450. Jd.

5. Ibid. no. ix pp. 73-76.

6. A letter from Tukoji to Bijay Singh dated 10th day of the dark-half of Vaisaka vs. 1826/May 1, 1769. Pf. ii B. LN. 3 Jd.

complied with from the Topkhana [1] as the oxen were not available in open market A *sanad* was issued for the regular supply of white marble from Makrana on April 30, 1784, to Ahlya Bai Holkar, for the consruction of temples [2] Man Singh became *Rakhi bandh-bhai* of Jasvant Rao Holkar's wives, who were staying in Marwar from 1805-1809, as referred to above [3] At the time of their departure Man Singh offered two jewelled *sarees*, two *sarees* of *kinkhab* and four *Dusalas* The retinue accompanying these ladies also received adequate presents [4] On the request of Tulsi Bai in 1811 for help on the succession issue of Jaswant Rao Holkar, Man Singh offered help to her [5] Both Tulsi Bai and Laka Bai sent *Rakhis* to Man Singh every year and received rich presents [6]

The Maratha agents from Sindia who visited Marwar were treated with lavish hospitability and rich presents were offered to them in order to please and placate them. Not only considerable amount of mony was spent on such occasions, but also rich presents were sent to high officials of Sindia through them. One Pandit Antaji visited Jodhpur in 1709. On his departure he received rupees two hundred and one *Saropa* Bijay Singh also sent rupees four thousand five hundred, a horse one *Pagha*, two *Thans* of *Kinkhab*, one *Potia* eight *Thans* of Printed

1. A letter from Bijay Singh to Pandit Gangadhar dated 10th day of the bright-half of Jyeshtha vs 1820/June 9, 1764. AB. No iv p. 17 Jd
2. A letter from Sawai Ram to Tilkoji Padsaji dated 10th day of the bright-half of Vaisaka vs 1841/April 30, 1784. AB. No iv p 271. Jd
3. See pages 142-143
4. Hakikat Bahi no ix pp 2-4, 22 and 37 Jd.
5. A letter from Man Singh to Tulsi Bai dated 15th of the bright-half Margsursha vs. 1869/Nov 30, 1811 AB No V p 104. Jd.
6. Hakikat Bahi no. IX p 37.

cloth for Sindia's minister Beharji Takpir through Antaji.[1] Gadhwa Fakirji, on his visit to Jodhpur in January 1791, was richly entertained. Two of the top officials of the state were sent to receive him in advance, three miles off the capital.[2] A sum of rupees two hundred per day was spent on his hospitality during his stay at Jodhpur.[3] When he left on May 13,1793, he was offered one elephant, one horse, rupees five thousand, eleven varieties of clothes, one *Duppatta* of Deccani *Kasuma* (Korpan), two jewelled swords, one pair of jewelled *Punchua*, one jewelled *Sarpech*, one necklace of pearls, one pair of gold bangles and three *Sarees* (two red and one *jeendar*) for his wife. Appropriate presents to his retinue were also given.[4] In July 1791 *Jamatdar Hazari* Dhan Singh paid a visit to Jodhpur. The Maharaja met him in his inner chamber and honoured him by allowing him to sit by his side. A sum of rupees 300 was spent per day on his hospitality.[5] When Hindu Rao Ghatka, son of Sirji Rao Ghatka, visited Jodhpur in 1816, rupees fifty per day were spent on his hospitality.[6]

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1. A letter from Bijay Singh to Beharji Takpir dated 4th day of the dark-half of Magha vs. 1825/Jan. 26, 769. AB, No. iv p. 68. Jd.

   Saropo—Dress from head to foot.
   Pagha —A kind of turban 5 yards by one foot.
   Potia —Another kind of turban. 5 yards by two and a half feet.
   Than —Nine length piece of cloth.

2. Hakikat Bahi no V p. 190. Jd.

3. Ibid. p. 208.

4. Ibid.

   Kasumal means Dark-red.
   Karpan-unbleeched cloth.
   Sarpech-A small pagha tied round the turban.
   Panchua-A simple towel type cloth one and a half yard by two feet.

5. Ibid. p, 216.

6. Hakikat Bahi no. X p. 106. Jd.

   Presents like tigers were also sent to Sindia. Bijay Singh sent four tigers to Mahadaji in Sept, 1791 (A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 15th day of the bright-half of Bhadrapada vs. 1848/Sept. 12, 1791. AB. iv p 47. Jd.

The Maratha envoys, who visited Marwar, paid due respects to the dignity of the rulers Whenever, they paid the visit to the Maharaja, they offered due *Nazar* and *Nichrawal* to him and they never left Marwar without obtaining *Seekh (permission to leave)* from him[1] The envoys during their stay at the capital of Rathors, participated in the festivals of the court Gadhwa Fakirji attended the Gangor festival on April 8, 1791 and participated throughout the night in the entertainment programme, as arranged by the state.[2] On the occasion of Dewali the Maratha dignitaries staying at Jodhpur, received cash grants from the rulers[3] along with the state officials.

The Rathor-Maratha social relation was evident on the occasion of marriage ceremonies. A year before the battle of Tunga, Bijay Singh sent four *Mohurs* and ten rupees for the daughter of Mahadaji, who was going to be married and two *Sarees* of *Lahriya Korpalla* for his wife.[4] On the occasion of the marriage of the daughter of Daulat Rao Sindia, Man Singh sent rupees four thousand and four *thans* of clothes on July 1, 1817 through Vyas Jaskaran.[5] He again presented rupees one thousand on the marriage of another daughter of Daulat Rao,

1 Hakikat Bahi No v p 167. Jd.
Nichhrawal is a mode of presenting money to the ruler.

2. Ibid; p 204.

3 A letter from Macnaghten to Alves dated Oct 30, 1838, F. P. Jan 23. 1839. No, 30. (Appaji received three hundred yearly on this occasion since his coming to Jodhpur in 1829).

4 Hath Bahi No ii p 163 Jd.
Lahriya is a Marwari Orni (used by women folk in place of modern Chuni) 3 yards by one and half yards having the colour of seawaves with a touch of either green or rosy shade. Korpalla is a kind of orni, one corner of which is printed.

5. A letter from Man Singh to Daulat Roa dated 3rd day of First Sravana vs, 1874/July 1, 1817. AB. no. V

in July 1822.[1] Pandit Ram Chandra, son-in-law of *Pandit* Baje Rao, whose marriage party had arrived at Jodhpur from Ajmer, was entertained by Man Singh on May 3, 1830, in the fort. He was further bestowed with gold anklets, pearls and *Dusalas*. His four friends were also given *Dusalas*.[2]

Whenever Maratha leaders were victorious against other enemies, they were duly congratulated by the Jodhpur rulers. Bijay Singh congratulated Mahadaji on his occupation of the fort of Asirgarh.[3] Rathor-Maratha contacts grew so close that Mahadaji, moved by the severity of the famine on the people of Marwar in 1782, contributed rupees fifteen thousand for relief works.[4] Further examples of the close contacts are clear from the occasional medical aid to the Maratha generals and officials during their illness as was given to Baji Narsing, the *Dewan* of Mahadaji.[5]

The Maratha leaders respected the religious sentiments of the rulers and assured them of the safety of their religious teachers in their sphere of influence. Mahadaji looked after the safe and comfortable stay of Shri Murlidhar Gosain *Guru* of Bijay Singh during his stay in 1769 at Gokul, near Mathura.[6] Ambaji Ingle took security measures, as desired by Bhim Singh, during the

1. Ibid-4th day of the dark-half of Sravana vs. 1879/July 8, 1822. AB. No. V p. 19. Jd.

2. Hakikat Bahi no. xi. p. 248. Jd.

3. A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 9th day of the dark-half of Sravana vs. 1839/August 2, 1782. AB. No. iv p. 40. Jd.

4. A letter from Mohadaji to Bijay Singh dated 2nd day of the dark-half of Sravana vs. 1839./July 26, 1782. Pf. vi LN. 44. Jd.

5. Ibid-11th day of the dark-half of Chaitra vs. 1825/April 2, 1769. Pf. LN. 4. Jd.

6. Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 4th day of the bright-half of Vaisaka vs. 1826/May 9, 1769 AB iv p. 29. Jd.



Chattri of Jayappa Sindia at Tausar.



Carving at the base of chattri of Jayaappa Sindia at Tausar.

course of the pilgrimage of his Guru to holy places in N[illegible] India.[1] Sirji Rao Ghatka assured Man Singh that the temple of Ayasji Maharaj at Newai in Jaipur state, would be protected.[2]

The Maratha contact did not influence the art and architecture of *Jodhpur. The Chhatri which was constructed over* the remains of Jayappa at Tausar near Nagor does not exhibit any Maratha influence. It is a Mughal architecture with Rajput influence. It stands on a square platform seven feet high. The dome is after the Mughal fashion and the carving is indigenous.[3] A Shiva image in the middle of *Chhatri*, stands right under the hollow space of the dome.[4] Though the Marathas could not contribute towards the art in Jodhpur, yet they owe the growth of art in their domains to Marwar. The white marble stone of Makrana was in a great demand[5] by the Marathas for the construction of great temples and palaces at Indore, Ujjain and Gwalior. The main gate of Indore palace, Nana Phadnavis' house at Poona, Western *Naqqar Khana* of the old Bhonslavad at Nagpur, constructed between [illegible] A.D., were influenced by the innumerable sum bays and [illegible] so characteristic of the Moti Mahal in Jodhpur fort.[6]

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1. Bhim Singh to Ambaji [illegible] dated [illegible] day of the [illegible] of [illegible] vs 1857 Feb. 5, 1801 AB [illegible]
2. Man Singh to S. R. Ghatka dated [illegible] day of the [illegible] of [illegible] vs 1865/July 29, 1808 AB [illegible]
3. Chhatri facing page [illegible]
4. Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated [illegible] day of the [illegible] of [illegible] 1847 July 2, 1791. AB [illegible]
5. Tukoji to Bijay Singh dated [illegible] day of the [illegible] of [illegible] 1841 June [illegible] 1784. [illegible]
   Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated [illegible] day of the [illegible] of [illegible] vs 1848 Sept. [illegible] AB [illegible]
6. An article by Dr. H. Goetz, [illegible] published in B. C. Law Commemoration [illegible]

CHAPTER VIII

Bibliography

There is no paucity of sources, contemporary and secondary, for the period under review. They may be classified as follows :—

A. Persian Chronicles.
B. Persian *Farmans, Akhbarat* and *Vakil* reports.
C. Contemporary Marathi Sources.
D. Contemporary Marathi Letters.
E. Contemporary Rajasthani *Kharitas* and Letters.
F. Contemporary Bahi Records in Rajasthani.
G. Rajasthani MS.
H. Sanskrit *MSS.* and Letters.
I. *Khyat* Literature.
J. English Documents (Unpublished).
K. English Documents (Published).
L. Published Works in Hindi, Rajasthani and English.
M. Gazetteers.
N. Journals.
O. Maps.
P. Ephemery.

A. PERSIAN CHRONICLES

Alamgirnama (Per. Text. Bib. Ind.) by Mirza Muhammad Kasim. It is an official history of first ten years of the reign of Aurangzib. I have found it useful for the early relation

of Aurangzib with Jasvant Singh It records Jasvant Singh's activities in the Deccan against the Marathas, Shivaji's arrest at Agra and the subsequent responsibility of Jasvant Singh to re-arrest Shivaji

Maasir-I-Alamgiri (*MS* of S B.L Udaipur and Per. Text, *Bib Ind* 1870 B) by Muhammed Saqi Must-dd-Khan For first ten years of the reign, the MS from *Sarasuati Bhandar Library* is referred to Then, text from *Bibliotheca Indica* is quoted. It covers the whole of Alamgir's reign Though written after the death of Aurangzib, it records the history from 1657-1707 basing on Alamgirnama *Akhbarat*, issued from the capital and his personal knowledge, as he was an eye witness of several events, described by him I have found some of the events, mentioned therein, very useful e g , the period of Jasvant Singh's governorship of Gujrat, the part played by him in Shivaji-Shayista Khan episode, the role he performed in the Deccan against the Marathas, the resistance of the Rathors after Jaswant Singh's death and Durga Das' march to get Maratha help.

Muntakhab-Ul-Lubab (Per Text, *Bib. Ind* 1869) by Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan It begins from Babur and ends at the 14th year of Muhammed Shah's reign The first part, which deals from Babur to Shah Jahan, is not useful for my purpose The second part has rendered very useful information It was compiled by the author privately during the life time of the Emperor Aurangzib and made public after his death The author has thrown sufficient light on Jasvant Singh's complicity in the night attack on Shayista Khan, the attitude of the Emperor towards him, the Rathor resistance movement and the march of Durga Das to join Shambhuji in the Deccan. It also records the activities of Jasvant Singh's son Ajit Singh during the reigns of Bahadur Shah, Jahandar Shah and his plan to overthrow Farrukh Siyar with the help of the Marathas in 1719

CHAPTER VIII

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Maasir-ul-Umra. (Per. Text. Bib. 1887-95 Ind.) by Shah Nawaz Khan (1742-79). It is a biographical dictionary of the Mughal nobles from the days of Babur to the 22nd year of Aurangzib's reign (1679)in three volumes. This work is of no use for the main subject matter of my study. However, it gives a skechy biography of Jasvant Singh.

Nuskha-i-Dilkusha. (Per. Text Sitamau) by Bhimsen. The author was in the service of Mughals in the Deccan. He was an eye witness of many events in the Deccan affairs, particulary of the period 1670-1707 A. D. It has helped me to evaluate the Rathor-Maratha relation during Shivaji's attack on Poona on April 5,1663 and subsequent events. It also throws an important light on the renewal of friendly relations between Jasvant Singh and Shivaji during the period 1667-1670 A. D.

Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri. (Per-text Sitamau) by Ishwar Das He was a Nagar Brahman of Pattan in Gujrat. He was a Mughal civil officer at Jodhpur, when it was under Mughal administration. It is the first rate authority for the events in Rajputana during the period 1657-1698 A. D. Though it does not throw much light on Rathor-Maratha contacts, yet it is highly useful for Rathor-Mughal relations. It gives a vivid description of Jasvant Singh's activities in Gujrat and Ajit Singh's struggle against the Mughals.

-i- adi. (Per. Text, Bib Ind.?) by Ali Muha-
m three volumes. For my purpose the
tion regarding Rathor activities in
e times of Ajit Singh and Abhay
ct between Baji Rao and
over Baroda, the murder
administration in Gujrat
bray and Co. Calcutta)
ur volumes. It was

are useful for my purpose The *farmans* issued by Bahadur Shah in 1710, relates to the Mughal recognition of the status of Ajit Singh as the ruler of Jodhpur, Ahmad Shah Abdali's *farmans* of the years 1755, 1759 and 1761 are very important The *farmans* record the readiness of the Afghan ruler to help the Rathor against the Marathas in 1755 with the expectation that he might get their support against the Marathas at the battle of Panipat in 1761. The *farman* of the year 1761 informs the victory of Abdali over the Marathas and his invitation to Bijay Singh to co-operate with him in consolidating the gains over the Deccanies.

Akhbarat-I-Darbar-Mualla (State Archives, Bikaner). They consist of small slips of brown paper, each briefly recording one day's occurrence at the Imperial court viz. the movements and doings of the Emperor, the time of holding court, the appointments made, summaries of the despatches received and the orders passed on them etc. They are in persian and run from the year 1666 to 1719. *Akhbarat* of the Ry. 10 and Ry. 12 helped me to judge the Rathor diplomacy at play during the peace talks of Shivaji after his return from Agra. *Akhbar* of Ry. 24 furnishes Akbar and Durga Das' arrival in the Deccan. *Akhbar* of Ry. 45 informs the attitude of submission by Ajit Singh to the Emperor in 1700 and *Akhbar* dated Ry. 51 records a proposal of Aurangzib, on the eve of his death, about the need of Ajit Singh's support for him in Gujrat for which he was prepared to give him concessions in Marwar. The *Akhbarat* of the period of Bahadur Shah's Ry. 4 and of Jahandar Shah's Ry-1 have no direct bearing to my study but they serve the link of the events.

Vakil Reports (Persian, State Archives, Bikaner). These reports were sent by the agents of the Jaipur rulers, residing at Delhi Court, to the *Dewan* or some times to Maharajas of

Jaipur They were a sort of news information regarding the activities in the Court as well as a summary of the despatches arrived at the court and orders of the Emperor on them Only a few such reports are useful for my purpose The *Vakil* report of dated 29th *Shawwal* Ry-25 relates to the march of Durga Das, Akbar and the Marathas towards Ahmadabad in 1682 The report of the Ry 26 relates the occupation of Ahamdabad by Rathors and the report of dated 17th *Jamd-d'al akhir* Ry 26 furnishes a compromise plan of the Rathors to the Empror on condition that Akbar might be appointed as the governor of Ahmadabad

C. CONTEMPORARY MARATHI SOURCES

I have used published Marathi sources, which are contemporary to the events under review They are useful in corroborating various events

Shiva Chhatrapatichen Charita

(edk M Sane–1912 3rd ed) It was composed in 1696 by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad a contemporary of Shivaji and an-eye witness of many of the events of the period under review The *Bhakar* records Jaswant Singh's relation with Shivaji in the Deccan, Shivaji's visit to Agra, reaction on Shivaji regarding Jaswant Singh's status in the Imperial Court and Shivaji's preparations during the period of lull 1667-1669

Jedhe Yanchi Shakavali (1927 ed Sarkar) It is a bare record of events with dates kept by Jedhes, a Maratha Kshtriya family in Mavel The dates are given in the Saka era It contains 243 entries starting from the Saka year 1540 and ends with Saka year 1619 It records Jaswant Singh's part during Shivaji-Shayista Khan episode, his attacks on Kondlana and Shambhuji's visit to Jaswant Singh after the peace had been settled in 1667 It also throws light on the arrival of Durga Das and Akbar in the Deccan Instead of referring page number of the Shakavali I have referred the Saka year number with the months e... under reference of the year 1585, *Phalguna*

D. CONTEMPORARY MARATHI LETTERS IN V.K. RAJWADE'S MARATHYANCHYA ITIHASACHI SADHANE (1898-1902)

From 1908 to 1926 for nearly three decades, Rajwade brought about 22 volumes of historical materials consisting of original letters and documents. Letters in the volumes No. i, ii, vi, vii have been found useful for my purpose. Letter No. 44 of the vol. i gives the information regarding the siege of Nagor by Jayappa and the privation, hunger and thirst prevailing in the fort and outside. Letters No. 327, 341 in the Vol. vi relate to the instructions of the Peshwa to Jayappa for carrying out the immediate termination of the Marwar campaign.

Aitihasik Patren Yadi Waghaire Lekh (1930) Edited by G. S. Serdesai, Kale and Wakaskar. Letters 122, 124. 125, 127. 131, 139, 141, 142, 143 are useful for my purpose. Letters No. 122, 124 record Jayappa Sindia's march on to Marwar and the victory at Merta. Letter No. 141 refers to the agreement signed between the Marathas and Bijay Singh in February. 1756,

Selections From Peshwa Daftar (1930-35) Edited by G.S. Serdesai. The letters are in forty five volumes. The letters were sent to the Peshwas by their agents at dfferent places. The letters cover the period from 1724 to '1781 for my purpose. Letters in the volumes No. ii, x, xii, xiii, xv, xxi, xxii, xxvii. xxix, xxx and xxxviii are useful. Letter no 23 of the vol. xiv informs the attack of Holkar and Sindia on the army of the Rajputs ampura, where Abhay Singh was defeated. Lett er No. 2 of Vol. xxvii records the visit of Holkar and Sindia at Kalaguna n Marwar to collect tribute and the scaracity of conditions in Marwar in 1742 Letter No. 275 of July, 6, 1761 of the same volume mentions the request of Govind Krishna to Raghu Nath Rao not to entertain the overtures from Bijay Singh at the cost of Sindia's prestige.

Jodhpur, cover the period from 1785 to 1794 They are 33 letters compiled in a volume with a supplement Letter No 5 records the traditions that Holkar and Abhay Singh had entered into brotherly relations Letters No 16 and 17 throw light on the negotiations carried on between Bijay Singh and Mahadaji Sindia Letter No 16 also records that Mahadaji had asked for two crores of rupees from Jodhpur as a war indemnity after the battle of Merta 1790 Letter No 17 informs Bijay Singh's terms for peace

Poona Akhbarat vol iii (published in 1956) Letter No 202 (p 132) records the intention of Mahadji to press for cession of the fort of Ajmer and the payment to regular tribute from Bijay Singh in 1790

Maheshwar Darbarachin Badami Patren In two volumes edited by D B. Parasnis in 1910-1911 A D The letters, written to Ahalaya Bai Holkar and Indore government cover the period from 1779 to 1796 The first volume, from 1719 to 1784 contains only 125 letters whereas the total number of letters of the second volume, 1783 to 1796 is 276 Only volume second is found useful for my purpose Letters number 18, 114, 146, 147, 149, 150 153 154, 157, 171 173, 181, 201, 205, 209 are useful for the study of the period under review Letter No 18 refers to the Marwari business men at Indore that they had not cleared off the state tax of rupees 1,500 upto the Dewali, which was regarded as the closing day of the year Letter No 149 mentions that Bijay Singh's son himself led an army of 15,000 to join Jaipur army on the eve of battle of Tunga Bijay Singh's unsuccessful efforts to bring Holkar on his side in 1788 is referred in letter No 171

Hingane Daftar in two volumes edited by G S Sardesai and others The first volume contains 219 letters and

of Bikaner dated 2nd day of dark-half of *Margasirsha* vs 1812 informs the movement of the ruler to help Bijay Singh during the siege of Nagor in November, 1755

Draft *Kharitas* have been much useful for the period of Abhay Singh's struggle with his brothers during the early years of his reign A draft *Kharita* from Jay Singh to Abhay Singh dated 4th day of the bright-half of *Asvina* vs 1782 records the movement of the Jaipur forces at the direction of Abhay-Singh, to defend his *Jagir* of Idar from the Marathas

Vakil Reports were the information sent to *Dewan* of Jaipur by the agents of Jaipur ruler at Delhi A report dated 5th day of the dark-half of *Jyeshtha* vs 1723 informs that on the advice of Jasvant Singh Aurangzib put Shivaji under arrest Another report dated 9th day of the dark half of *Margasirsha* vs 1769 records the bestowing of the governorship of Gujrat to Ajit Singh by Jahandar Shah

The copies of the documents preserved at *Kapaddwara* (Yet a private possession of Jaipur Maharaja) were made available to me by the State Archives Bikaner I found some of the documents useful A *Qualnama* between Madho Singh and Bijay Singh dated 12th day of the bright-half of *Phalguna* vs 1816 informs the agreement of both the rulers to act jointly against the Abdali and the Marathas during their struggle for supremacy for the North India in 1760-1761

Jodhpur Record It is of variety in nature The most important to my purpose are *Kharitas* in port folio, *Hakikat-Bahi*, *Hath Bahi*, *Khas-Rukka Bahi*, *Arzee Bahi* *Dholian-Ka-Kothar* records, *Bastas* and letters of Abhay Singh to Bhandari Amar Singh

Kharitas in Portfolios They have been preserved in

card board portfolios specially prepared for the purpose. They are thirty one in number, consisting of original *Kharitas*, *Rukkas*, *Teharir* (notes) addressed to the rulers and administrators of Jodhpur by the rulers, chiefs and administrators of different States, both of Rajasthan and out side. They have been classified alphabetically (*nagri*) starting from Ahmadnagar, Ajmer and Alwar. The letters and documents have been traced from the files numbers 1,2,3,4,5,6,7.8,9,10. File No. 4 and 2B cover letters and *Kharitas* from Holkar and No. 6 covers letters from Sindia. The documents in each portfolio are arranged chronologically according to the rulers of Jodhpur and a brief note is attached with each sub-section file of the portfolio. These *Kharitas* begin from the reign of Jasvant Singh and run down to the reign of Umed Singh (1947-A,D.). But generally the period covered by them is from Ajit Singh to Man Singh 1707-1843 A.D.) A letter from Malhar Rao Holkar to Bijay Singh dated 12th day of the bright-half of *Asvina* vs. 1809 preserved in portfolio No. 2 B. file No. 1 informs that Holkar had accepted the accession of Bijay Singh on the throne of Marwar, an interesting change in the policy of Holkar, who by family relations should have put forward the case of Ram Singh. The fact that Mahadaji Sindia gave the responsibility of safeguarding his interest in Mewar to Bijay Singh, is revealed in a letter to Bijay Singh written by Mahadaji on 2nd day of the dark-half of *Ashadha* vs 1828 (portfolio No. 6 letter No, 13) Letters from Ambaji Ingle to Bhim Singh dated 10th day of the *dark-half* of *Asvina* and 6th day of bright-half of *Karttika* vs. 1856 refer to the receipt of valuable jewels and Rs. 8,000/- sent by the latter with Akhay Raj. (portfolio No. 2 B file No. 2 letters No: 2 and 6)

Letters from Abhay Singh to Amar Singh Bhandari

These letters were written at the orders of Maharaja Abhay

Singh from Gujrat to his agent at Delhi Bhandari Amar Singh. They throw fresh light on the Maratha—Rathor struggle for supremacy in Gujrat during the period 1730-1733. These letters are sometimes very long and depict the political situation in details. A letter written on 12th day of the bright-half of *Karttika* vs. 1782 refers to the efforts of Abhay Singh to keep Mughal-Rathor hold on Gujrat without the aid from Imperial support. Letters dated 11th day of the bright-half of *Chaitra* vs. 1788 and 13th day of the bright-half of *Vaisak.* vs 1788 record in details how Pilaji Gaikwar was murdered at Dakore. The facts that Abhay Singh, while working hard during the famine conditions in Gujrat in the middle of July, 1732, had conquered Baroda and twenty four forts from the Marathas, are referred in his letter to his *Vakil* dated 1st day of the dark-half of *Bhadrapada* vs. 1789.

(F) Contemporary Bahi records in Rajasthan (MS. Form)

This record consists of *Hakikat Bahi*, *Hath Bahi*, Khas *Rukka Bahi*, Kharita *Bahi* and *Arzee Bahi*

Hakikat Bahis. They record the daily routine of the rulers of Jodhpur, their movements and places of visit. They also furnish the information regarding the visit {of political personalities, who waited on the Maharajas. The *Bahis* begin from the *Vikrama Samvat* 1821 and continue upto the last ruler of state viz. Hanvant Singh. Each *Bahi* covers a period from five to ten years of the ruler's reign. For my purpose the *Bahi* upto number 11 are very useful. They also help to correct the dates of the events and visit of the personalities. *Hakikat* Bahis No. 9 furnishes the information regarding the stay of Holkar's family at Jodhpur from 1805 to 1809 (pp. 2-5, 22, and 37). Entries on pages 80, 84, 80-89 of the *Hakikat Bahi* No. 10

record Amir Khan's planned murder of Inder Raj Singhvi and Deo Nath Ayas. *Hakikat Bahi* No. 11 at page 218 records the visit of Appaji Ehonsle at Jodhpur and the arrangements made by Man Singh for his comfortable and safe stay at Mahamandir.

Hath Bahis. They are five in number. For my study only first four are useful. They generally record the amount of the tribute paid to Marathas. *Hath Bahi* No. 2 at pages 124-125 records the detailed account of the tribute paid by Bijay Singh to Mahadaji Sindia for the years vs. 1835-1839. The total amount paid was 7,00,000 out of the amount fixed at 9,00,000. One interesting record which *Hath Bahi* No. 3 at pages 42-43 mentions, is the agreement arrived at between Mookhtar-ood Daula, a general of Amir Khan, and Man Singh regarding the permanent employment of his force in the service of the Rathor ruler. *Hath Bahi* number four refers to a Rathor colony in Maharastra. It refers its population and history. It also mentions that the Rathor rulers also paid its tribute to the Marathas.

Khas-Rukka Bahis These *Bahis* contain the orders and directions of the rulers of Marwar to the nobles. *Bahi* No. 2 page 2 furnishes the direction of Man Singh to his chiefs, when Jodhpur fort was being tightly besieged by the combined forces of Jaipur, the Marathas and Amir Khan, to save their motherland from the invaders. At page 3, the same *Bahi* furnishes the plan of Man Singh to distract Amir Khan and Sirji Rao Ghatka to his side.

Arzee Bahis. They are seven in number. For my purpose *Bahis* numbers four and five are most useful. They are absolutely concerned with the letters sent by the rulers and administrators of Jodhpur to *Maratha* generals and administrators like Mahadaji, Daulat Rao, Tukoji Holkar, Anand Rao, Bable, Aba Chitnis, Rane Khan, Ambaji Ingle, Lakhwa Dada etc.

They cover the period from 1754 to 1843 The total number of the pages of the *Bahis* is nearly 474 They contain more than 700 copies of the letters These *Bahis* have been of immense use and the information revealed by them throws much light on the Marwar-Maratha relations Letters from Jodhpur minister Khichi Gordhan to Mahadaji Sindia Rane Khan and *Pandit* Ala Chitnis sent on 12th day of the dark half of second *Ashadha* vs 1846 (*Arzee Bahi* No 4) furnish the efforts for peace by Jodhpur ruler after his debacle at Merta on Septembea 10 1790

The same *Bahi* at page 50 dated 9th day of the bright-half of *Ashadha* vs 1849 records a letter from Bhim Singh to Mahadaji revealing that he occupied Jodhpur with the help of his agents at Jodhpur, just a week after the death of Bijay Singh The letter at the pages 3 and 4 dated 9th day of the bright half of *Magha* vs 1862 in *Arzee Bahi* No 5 records the promises of Man Singh to Daulat Rao Sindia to render Rathor service to him at any time he took arms against the British and act as a mediatory to reconcile the differences between him and Holkar if he helped him against Jaipur and Udaipur with whom he had a quarrel over the marriage of Krishna Kumari Another letter on page 120 of the same *Bahi* dated 5th day of the bright half of *Chaitra* vs 1867 furnishes the bestowing of the fort of Ghanerao in Godwad to Amir Khan, thus allowing him to dominate the politics of Marwar

Dholian ka Kothar Records.

It is a vast record containing original letters and their copies The Kothar was located in the fort and was under the direct supervision of *Shri Huzur Dafter* All state documents, concerning the administration and otherwise were preserved here It is at present lying with the Archives Department of Rajas-

than, Bikaner. Different letters have been classified into different files, out of which the following are useful for my purpose.

Arzee File Numbers 1 to 6 and 122.
Amal-Ki-Chithi file number 7 and 105.
File Concerning *Uthantri* of villages No. 22.

,,	,,	*Khato-Kitab*	No. 28 and No. 30.
,,	,,	*Tambapatra*	No. 46
,,	,,	*Ghoda* and *Saman*	No. 387.
,,	,,	*Intjami Siga*	No. 58.
,,	,,	*Rekh Chakri* and *Hukamnama*	No. 71.
,,	,,	*Sayar*	No. 76.
,,	,,	*Ijara*	No. 109 and No. 110,
,,	,,	*Jama-Kharch*	No. 43 and No. 44.
,,	,,	*Khas Rukka* and *Dewani Parwana*	No. 107.

Some of the letters in the different files also record the events concerning the Marathas. A letter dated May 21, 1789, in *Arzee* file No. 5 mentions that despite a treaty between Bijay Singh and Partap Singh of Jaipur, after the battle of Tunga, not to act independently with Sindia, Partap Singh signed a separate agreement with Mahadaji, without caring Bijay Singh's reactions

Jama-Kharch file No. 44, contains a record of the details of the payment of the tribute, arrears of the tribute and war indemnity to Sindia as agreed by the ruler at Sambhar in 1790.

Bastas (Jodhpur Record, Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner),

These are red and dark-blue cloth bound wrappers, containing original and copies of the original *Bahis*, *Khyats*, documments, letters and registers. The *Bastas* preserve important source meterial of the period under review. The total number

Two Sanskrit Letters of Shambhuji to Ram Singh. (State Archives, Bikaner, Jaipur Record) Though the letters are undated yet by the contents, it can be evaluated that they were written in about May 1682. The letters record the request of Shambhuji to Raja Ram Singh of Jaipur to help the cause of Rathors both with money and men. It also mentions that he was sending a force with Durga Das to whom he should join in the North.

I KHYAT LITERATURE.

The *Khyats* are histories of the state of Marwar and other states as mentioned here These are contemporary records, as the last record mentioned therein ends with the reign of Man Singh in 1843 A D. Some of these *Khyats* are based on contemporary *Bahi* records. The different *Khyats* referred in the work are.—

Nensi Khyat	(Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur)
Marwar Khyat	(Anop Sanskrit Library, Bikaner)
Dayal Das Khyat	(Anop Sanskrit Library, Bikaner)
Mundiyad Khyat	(*Bastas* Nos. 20 and 40 Jodhpur record, Rajasthan Archives Bikaner)
Banki Das Khyat	(Oriental Research Institute Jodhpur)
Tatodi Ilaka Khyat	(*Basta* No. 40. Jodhpur record, Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner)
Malone Khyat	(Ibid)
Balan-Khyat	(*Basta*No. 101, Jodhpur Record, Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner)

J. ENGLISH DOCUMENTS
(Unpublished, National Archives of India, New Delhi)

These are the letters and reports sent by the English Agents and Residents stationed at Delhi, Ajmer and Jodhpur to the

Secretary to Governor General and the letters received from him at different times. They cover the period from 1785 onwards upto the time of the period of my study. They furnish first hand information and as such are very useful for my purpose. They have been classified into Foreign Secret Consultations, Foreign Political Consultations, Rajputana Agency Office Files and proceedings of the Board of Directors. The letter sent by Metcalfe to John Adams on May 29, 1817 (Foreign Political Consultation dated 14th June, 1817 No. 13) furnishes that Man Singh did not transfer his power to his son Chhatar Singh willingly but he was forced to retire from active politics by the court party led by his son and Akhay Raj. Lord William Bentinck writing to Man Singh on December 2, 1834 (Rajputana Agency Office File No. 5 Jodhpur II 1834) regarded his headship of the Rathors in a state of probation. The letter preserved in Foreign Secret Consultation dated 6th November 1839 No. 43 records the declaration of a war on Jodhpur on August 17, 1839, by Sutherland, as the representative of the Governor General, because Man Singh had refused to comply with the British demands.

A History of Ajmer and Jodhpur (MS. State Archives, Bikaner).

It was written by Ghulam Qadir in 1817. It is a brief narrative of the events of the history of Ajmer and Jodhpur. It records the different Maratha and Rathor governors of Ajmer Fort. It also throws light on the circumstances of its surrender to the Rathors in December, 1787 and its reoccupation by Mahadaji Sindia in 1790-1791.

K. ENGLISH DOCUMENTS (PUBLISAED)

Calender of Persian Correspondence (10 volumes) 1906,
East India Military Calender Vol. III (1826)

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O. MAPS

In providing maps and finding exact locations of the places of the villages in Gujrat and Marwar, sketch maps attached with Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Rajputana Gazetteer Vol. iii A, and map of Rajputana, Survey Department of India have been studied.

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APPENDIX 'A'

A document to illustrate the early relations of the Rathors and the Marathas. Text of Maharaja Abhay Singh's letter to Bhandari Amar Singh regarding the Rathor activities in Gujrat in 1732 (See Chapter II pp. 53) Jodhpur Record.

मोहर

(मोहर के लेख)

महामाया श्री हिंगुलाज प्रसादात छत्रपति श्री राजेश्वर महाराजाधिराज महाराजा श्री अभैसिंह देव विजयते भानुतेज स्वरुपेण मही मध्येपु राजते हरि अंबा सूर विनायक ये सुर पच सदाफल दायक

(महाराजा की सही ।)

सिधि श्री श्री राजराजेसुर महाराजाधिराज श्री अभैसिंह जी महाराज कंवर श्री रामसिंघ जी देव वचनात मां ।। अमरसिंघ दिसे सु परसाद बा चजा ।। तथा ।। नीबाब नु खत छै सो दीजयों न कहेज निबाब रा लिखणो सु ईलरो घाट करणो ईण तरफ ने कुचकीयों गनीम ने मार ने बडोदो चोईस गडिया सु लीयो पीलू लाखां खरचीयां गे लाखा असवारा सु न मरे-तिणनु मारीयों गनीम ने काढने मुलक साफ कियों ने आज तक में अठारा काम ऊपर मेहनत कीवी छे सु आलम ऊपर जाहर छै अगला सोबायतानु गुजरात राखणी मुसकील थी सु म्हे ईश्वर रा प्रताप सु गनीम नु तन कर वैठया था सु जायगा छुडा ने तीण रो कयु वुड़वुड़ो न हुवो सु म्हेतो औ सो बो नीबाब रे भरोसे लीयो छो ने नीबाब म्हां सू काऊ काउ करार किया छा सु नीबाब सु रोसन छै में तो जोतरो वात मुढा बगरे काढी थी सु कर दी खाई ने उठासु गोर न हुई हमारा अठणे आवणों घणी खरावी हुई खरची रे कसाले करणों लोक अत परेसान हुवो ने गीरानी उठे तक हुई सु रुपया रो सेर अनाज मीलयो नही घास तो मुतलक मीलीयों नहीं आंवा रो पात खाया जोकरा घोडा छा सु पांच रया ने लोक पाला ही मांज पान खायनें रेया पीण काम गनीम रो छो जोतरे तन दीयों सो म्हारा उतन रो लोक छो तरे आबरु रही न बाजे परदेशी लोक छो तरे आबरु न रहे तणो पातशाही काम खराब हो सु ईतरा दीन काम रो मोसर छो वईतरे तो लोक रहयो ने अवे लोक सो तैयार हुवो छे लोक री तलब तीस लाख छै सु तलब रो हंगामों छै महे लोक बीना नो म्हासु कयु रेहणी नावें न दूसरो कयु अठारी गोररी सो नहीं सु लोक नु जास उपजे आज तीन तीन वरस हुवा उम्मेदवार पातसाही वंदगी करता ने जीण भाई भतीज काम आया

घाव ईण तरेरी परवानो पाचो ने पाछे जागीरदार मामला ने जो पोहचाव ने पईसा लेवे छ सु ईण तरे कोला मांन रहे चार हजार असवार तो अजमेर रे जीरे रा परगना रा छे दुसरा मारवाड रा छे सु म्हारे घर म सो कुछ खालसो न रह्यो सु देवा ने जागीर उमाद ऊपर चाकरी करता सु आपनु तैयार हुआ छे सु बीना जमीन तो म्हा ने बावद न गमावणो चावे म्हा ऊपर ईतरी तगदी हुई न ओ... मे महारा गदर न लोवी तर महानु काहु लोमणा मे चावे हुमे ओ मोवो छे जीको खरचो न मागे जागी न मास जागीरदार नु टका दवे मदा न मांगे तीगनु मुंपजे म्हे देस नु कुर करा छे सो थी दुआरका नाथजी रे कदमा पधार ने देस पधारा छा म्हतो म्हारो तरफ सु जान माल नु कीतरी वात री कसर न राखी न ईण सोवा म गीराव टोट कुछ नबर ने ना पाणो छे न घटागु गोर न हुई सो इण्टे छे एक काम करें छे तीण री काम न घटक छे दुजार काम सहीवा कर दोनावा तो ही कानु न हुओ सु परगना री लोक उमेद पर रहे सु हुमे नोवाब ने कह जो जो लोक री तलब रा हगामो छे सु मदद करें जु लाक नु फैसल हुवा बीना परगना म्हारा छे तीण रो काम करावा देवे मे आग सा नोवाब म्हा सु वडो रियायत कोवी न था सोवा छे मानर घार तोस न गुप न नावाब हमार न छुडावो सा जागीर रा काम खरचो घाग सो बडावणो न माग सु पुरबस खरचा दवे सईन्त गारो ... ... ने ... गी गरज गरजवा सु ... ... री छे सु तो माफ कहु जद तो नवाव सारा सरनाम करें ने उठीज घराना पनसी मे उठे काई पेदास म छे तीस लाख री जगा नीवाव हमार री बडोदा वगेरे बतावे सु बाकी घासा ने लास दामा करज कर देशा कणो नोठ गले बन्धो छे घागलो पैदास मालुम छे दोय महीना ने गनीम रो फओवो छे सु ईण वरे पनावा घावद न रहसी न पछे पाच टका ईवर करने लेवा जागीरदारा नु जागीरो न पहुचसी पछे नीबाब म्हानु कहसो सो गरज न सरसी ईण के या तो सरतांत करे या म्हानु सोख देवे ने गाडे सा हाथ पकड ने गमे ईण बाउ रो जवा कर लेवसो नव जतन न करसो ने सारा रोण न छुडाणो वरे जागीरदारा नु टका न पोहचनो परे तो सु फओवा करणो तीण सु जतन कर लेणो ने देस रा परगना हर तरह कर पाव म्हाणा गी सरण ने म्हारे सईन्त सलाम कीवा सु पाछे सो परवारो पनाव ने ईण सुरत म्हारे सोगत गो रुना सु सुनातेन बेंग सा वगेरे साठोवो तारा सु हम सस्त रो मुस्तफोला रे नारे बहाल कराव ने नोवाब नु कहु जो पमार दरतन म हुआ ईण री नीता देखो म फर लेस्या ईण दाम रो रवाज सलाम करन पेत पोचावे न सारी रद बदल नोवाब सु करणी सीवाव घरज लोखि हुकम पे समत् १७८६ रा मादवा वदी १ मुकाम घेरड

store house under *Huzur-Dewan*. The personal property including swords, shields, bed sheets etc. were deposited in it. Copies and original documents, letters etc. were also deposited in this office[1] The department of provision was known as *Ann-Ka-Kothar*. The officials of the department were *Dewani Musraf*, *Potdar* and Navitosanda.[2] There were *Abdarkhana* (department of water), *Rasovada* (Royal Kitchen), *Bagan-Ka-Kothar* (department of garden) *Sej-Khana* (department of equipment), *Farashkhana* (*department of furniture and* camp equipment) and *Zenani-dyodi* (department of harem-guard).[3]

(D) District administration.

The territory of Marwar was divided into paraganas. During the times of Abhay Singh and Bakht Singh, the number of *paraganas* was eighteen[4] With the annexation of Godwad in the year 1770, the paraganas were re-adjusted, totalling into *twenty three, viz. Bali, Bilara, Didwana, Jalor, Jaitaran, Jasvantpura*, Jasvantgarh, Jodhpur, Marot Merta Nagor, Nawa, Pachbhadra, Pali, Parbatsar, Phalodi Sambhar, Sanchor, Sankda, Shergarh, Shiva, Siwana and Sojat.[5]

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1 Letter dated 3rd day of the dark-half of first Jyeshtha v.s. 1876/May 1, 1820 File concerning Goda and Saman list no 37 (DK) Jd. Dholan is a cot made of Nivar.

2. Letter dated 13th day of the dark-half of Pausha v.s. 1902/Jan. 1843 File concerning Ghoda and Saman list no. 37 (DK) Jd

3 'Society and Culture of Rajasthan as revealed from the Byav Bahi of Dastary Record of Jodhpur' article by G N Sharma, J I H, Vol. xxxiv pt. I p 72.

4. Ms. Mansabs (Abhay Singh and Bakht Singh) Basta no. 99. Jd.

5. Hath Bahi no. iv pp. 55-57. Jd.
A.R M pp. 6-7.

Each *paragana* was looked after by a *Hakim,* who was appointed by the ruler after due consultation with the *Dewan.* The *Hakims* acted as revenue officers, magistrates and judicial authorities. They submitted their annual report of accounts to the ruler. The decisions from their courts were subject to revision in case of appeal to the ruler. They had no right to spend more than the fixed budget allotted to them. They were also responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the *paraganas.*[1]

Hakims were responsible for the collection of the dues from *Jagirdars.*[2] Custom and excise duties were also deposited in the *paragana* Kat*cheris,*[3] which served as the seats of *Hakims.*[4] They appointed *amils*[5], who were incharge of customs and excise and *navitosandas,*[6] who acted as clerks in the office, but the power to transfer these officials was vested in the *Dewan.*[7] Whenever the state confiscated the *jagir* of any feudal lord, the government asked the *Hakim* to take control of that *jagir.*[8]

Besides *amils,* the other district officers were *Qanungo,*[9]

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1. Ibid.
2. Letter dated 7th day of the dark-half of Pausha vs. 1869/Dec. 25, 1812; (File concerning Amal-Ki-Chitti no. 105. (DK) Jd.)
3. Hath Bahi no. iv pp. 225-229.
4. Ijara file no. 110. (DK) Jd.
5. PRC. viii LN. 132. p. 177. Letter from Mehta Bijay Ma[illegible] ardar M[illegible] of Nagor. F[illegible]ncerning Intjami Siga. Jd.
6. [illegible] dressed
7. [illegible] 10th day of th[illegible] (D[illegible] dwad) File c[illegible]
8. [illegible]'ay Singh to [illegible] Nov. 3. 179[illegible]
9. [illegible]

who looked after the revenue records of the district, *Kanwari*[1] who was responsible for guarding the cultivation, *Shahnas*[2] and *Chowaris*.[3] The responsibility of maintaining law and order in the district towns was that of *Kotwal* He was mainly a police officer but also acted as a judicial authority, wherever required by the *Hakims* He collected special cesses known as *Kotwali-Ki-Paidats*(income from *Kotwali*) from the business community of the towns. He maintained the registers of the houses and issued pattas of each house in his jurisdiction.[4]

The paraganas were subdivided into *tehsils* or *taluqas*, with a *thanedar* at the head of each of them. The *thanedar* was a police and revenue officer under the Hakims. The *tehsils* were sub-divided into villages. Each village had a *Panchayat* of its own. *Choudhri* acted as government representative in the villages.[5]

(E) Military Administration.

During the earlier period of our study the [illegible] strength of the Rathor rulers depended on the [illegible] of warriors

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1 Ibid

2. Hath Bahi no iii p 42-Jd 1
Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali p 185 [illegible]

3 File concerning Jama Kharch No. 44 (DK) Jd.
File concerning Sayer No 76 (DK) Jd.
Rathor Daneshwar Vamshavali p 404 [illegible]
A R. M. pp 709-710.

4 Hath Bahi Vol iii p 42. Jd.;
Tatodi Khyat p 6, Basta No. 42. Jd.
Tod, II pp 1113-1114;
'Havala and Deodhi-Bahis of [illegible] G [illegible] published in Uttar-Patrika 1961

5 Mundiyad Khyat (Jaswant [illegible] Jd.
Nensi Khyat Vol. I p. 114.
Jaswant Singh before [illegible]
5000 He paid [illegible]
Mundiyad Khyat [illegible]
10. 40 Jd.

from the *jagirdars*. Each *jagirdar* had to contribute a fixed number of men. The armies of Jasvant Singh and Ajit Singh were composed mainly of the Rajputs such as Bhatis. Mandea, Pataots, Jaimalaots. Udaots, Mertias, Jodhas, Champaots and Kumpaots. The army was divided into *Sawars* (cavalry men), *pyadal* (infantry) charriots, camel-corp and artillery. Whenever the army was on mareh, *Charans*, K*amdars* (K*ayasthas* and *Banias*) Brahmins, K*has-Pasban* camel-carriers, and pay master accompanied it.[1]

The army also consisted of mercenary recruits, viz. Rohillas, Afghans, Sindis and Purbias, armed with muskets and matchlocks.[2] In addition to it; there was in Marwar a brigade of 'Monastic militants' or 'fighting *Sanyasis*' mainly *Nagas*, and *Dadu-panthi sadhus*.[3]

Towards the end of Man Singh's reign, the military strength of the state was greatly reduced. The British raised the Jodhpur legion in 1835 and the state contributed rupees 1,15,000 a year, towards its maintenance. It was stationed at Erinpura, The legion consisted of 254 cavalry, 739 infantry, 31 artillery and 222 strong Bhil company totalling 1246. After the death of Man Singh the British allowed the state to have a little force. It consisted of 5,850 infantry and 2,680 cavalry in addition to the strength of the feudatories.[4]

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1. Hath Bahi no. iii pp. 42-43., No. iv pp 228-229., Bijay Vilas pp. 119 vv. 36.
2. A letter from Gyan Mal to Nirbhaya Ram dated 4th day of the bright-half of Phalguna vs. 1842/March 4, 1784. A. B No. iv p. 274. Jd.
3. Wilson vol. viii p. 314; T E. S. Vol. iii p. 135; Thorton Vol. ii p. 327.
4. Hath Bahi no. iv pp. 229. Jd.

(F) Justice and law

The ruler was the source and fountain of justice in Marwar. He was also the highest court of appeal. The power of life sentence was the Royal prerogative. At the capital there was a court known as *Karkhana Adalat*, administered by *four judges*. Important cases were reviewed by the ruler himself with the assistance of four judges, the *Dewan* and the Bakhshi.[1]

The *Hakims*, with the help of *Karkuns* and *Ijlasnavis*, conducted the administration of justice at district level. In towns, it was done by *Kotwal* with the help of *Izlasnavis*. The appeals from these courts were sent to *Karkhana Adalat*. The culprit Sanyasis were tried by special courts, presided over by the purohit, assisted by four judges. The cases of Naths were decided by Ayasji Maharaj of Maha mandir.[2]

The *Jagirdars* had also some judicial powers, but appeals against their decisions were taken to the *Karkhana Adalat* at Jodhpur.[3] At the village level, the *panchayats* formed a court and decided the local cases. If the parties were dissatisfied, appeals were lodged with the Hakims of the district concerned or the ruler.[4] Arbitration and compromises were generally resorted in the villages.[5] If there was any breach of

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1. *Hath Bahi no. IV pp. 229 JJ*
2. Ibid. pp. 57-58, 229;
   File concerning Sayer no. 76 (DK) JJ.
3. Letter from Mahajans of Balunda to the Maharaja dated 3rd day of the dark-half of Ashadha v.s. nil. Arzee file no. 6, (DK) JJ;
   A letter from Surat Ram to Thakur Ratan Singh dated 8th day of the dark half of Vaisaka v.s. 1880 April 21, 1824 file concerning Khato-Kitab no. 25 (DK) JJ
4. Hath Bahi no. IV p. 42. JJ
5. Ibid.

discipline in the army, the captain of the concerned contingent would present the criminal before a special court.[1]

Mutilation as a punishment seems to have been abolished.[2] The punishments were mild. In case of a theft fine was levied. The loss was compensated in terms of the payment of cash money[3] Special criminals were sent to jails, known as *Taihkhana*, where they died of suffocation. Political prisoners were imprisoned in the Salımkot (a special place) in the fort.[4]

(G) Revenue and Taxation.

The head of the revenue department of the state was the *Dewan*. He supervised the collections from *Havala* and *Khalsa* lands. The revenue of these lands was collected by his own agents known as *Havaldar*[5] or *Gumastha*.[6] The land revenue was also collected by giving it on *ijaras*.[7] The other main sources of the state revenue were the collections from paraganas and tehsils, tax on jagiri land, custom and excise duties.[8]

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1. Mucharka of Rasaldar of Kheda of Pardeshis dated 10th day of the bright-half of Margsirsha vs. 1887/Nov. 25, 1830, Hath Bahi no. iv. Jd.
2. Sutherland's report dated Aug. 7. 1847 (No. 845) p. 30.
3. A letter from Mehta Bijay Mal to the officials of Nawa Katcheri dated nil Arzee file no. 5. (DK) Jd.
4. A.R.M. pp. 716.
5. Letter dated 9th day of Pausha vs. nil. file concerning Ijaras no. 110. (DK) Jd.
6. Letter dated 22 Rabbi-ul-akhir 2RY/April 27, 1714 Jp.
7. A letter from Bakht Singh to Amar Singh dated 5th day of the bright-half of Pausha vs. 1792/Dec. 8. 1735 Mss. Kharita. Basta no. 99. Jd.
8. Hath Bahi no. i pp. 6-7; File concerning Jama-Kharch no 43. (DK) Jd.

Agriculture formed the most important element in the economic life of the people. The lands of a village, partially or wholly, were categorised into *Bapi*, *Mangli Hasili*, *Sasan*, *Doli*, *Pasaita*, *Jagiri*, and *Bhum*. No uniform system of assessment prevailed in Marwar. It varied from district to district, but one third of the actual produce was the prevailing rate. The different modes of assessments were *Lata*, *Kunta*, *Kankar Kunta*, *Mukata*, *Bighori* and *Gugri*.[1] The land

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1. Bapi was land of ancestrol inheritence from Bap (father).

Mangli was held by Brahmins.

Hasili was Khalsa land.

Sasan was a part of land in the jagir territory which the ruler would grant for charitable purposes and such lands were exempted from all kinds of assessments.

Doli *was given to Brahmins by jagirdars or by the State in the jagir territory.* It was also exempted from assessments.

Pasaita, was rent free land given to the employees of the jagirdars or State and were resumable.

Jagiri. Whenever the state resumed the land of a jagirdar, a part of the land was allowed to be retained by the jagirdar, free of rent, to be tilled by him or by his agents, it was known as jagiri land

Bhum. The land *given to a Bhomiya in lieu of service to the State* and the ruler

Lata. When the state portion was taken in kind on the spot, after duly measured and weighed, it was known as Lata.

Kunta. The state portion of the produce was taken by guess without undergoing the process of weighing or measurement

Kankar-Kunta. The total amount of the harvest was calculated while the crops were standing and the State portion was taken in kind or cash on the strength of the calculation. The mode was known as Kankar-Kunta.

Mukata A fixed rate per Bigha in cash was realised from the cultivators. It was known as Mukata.

Bighori Under this, a fixed rate per Bigha after due measurement, was levied in cash or kind.

Gugri. When a fixed amount of produce in kind was levied it was known as Gugri.

Hath Bahi no. iv pp. 94-97. Jd.;

A letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadaji dated 14th day of the dark-half of Bhadrapada v.s. 1835/Aug. 21, 1778. A. B. No. iv p. 37. Jd.;

Mertia Khyat Vol. ii pp. 1355-56. Basta no. 101 Jd.;

A. R. M. pp. 353-355.

yield in Marwar was highly affected by famines, which traditions record that it followed in every third year.[1]

One of the main sources of state revenue was from custom duties. In some areas, the collection of customs by *Ijaras* was prevalent. The right of *Ijara* custom collection was given to the highest bidder at the time of its auction.[2] Elsewhere, the government collected it through the *Daroga* of customs, who worked under *paragana Hakims.*[3] The taxable items were camels, horses, oxen, sheep, hides, horns, tanning barks, elephant teeth, broad clothes, silk, chintz, sandal wood, camphor, musk, dyes, opium and other drugs, spices, dates, gumarabic, saltpotash, cocoanuts, dyed blankets, copper, iron and borax.[4]

There were many other taxes also,as *Barad, Ghasmari, Gharbab, Swarkharch, Dana* and *Faujbal.*[5] Sutherland

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1. PRC xiv 139;
   Mundiyad Khyat (Man Singh) pp. 105-108. Basta no. 40 Jd.;
   The worst recorded famine was in 1810-1812, when grain was sold at seven seers a rupee. It led to the imigration of the inhabitants and cattle to neighbouring areas. (Ibid).
2. File concerning Jama-Kharch No. 43. (DK) Jd.;
   Hath Bahi No. 1 pp. 6-7. Jd.;
   File concerning Sayer No. 76; (DK) Jd.;
   Khas-Rukka and Parwana Bahi no. i p. 76. Jd.
3. File concerning Jama-Kharch No. 43. (DK) Jd.;
   Hath Bahi No. 1 pp. 6-7. Jd ;
   File concerning Sayer No. 76. (DK) Jd.;
   Khas-Rukka and Parwana Bahi no. i p. 76. Jd.
4. Tod. ii p. 107;
   Thorton ii p. 324.
5. Barad was tax on different callings (A letter from Mahadaji to Bijay Singh dated 1st day of the bright-half of Pausha vs. 1847/Jan. 5. 1791. Pf. vi LN. 57. Jd.;
   Ghasmari was grazing tax. (Rathor Daneshwar Vamshvali p. 175. vv. 311)
   Gharbab was house tax (Khas-Rukka to Baje Rao dated 6th day of the

reports of the prevalence of a tax on the celebration of marriages.[1]

The salt lakes of Sambhar, Didwana, Pachpadra and Nawa also yielded a large revenue to the State The *Dhohan-Ka-Kothar* records file concerning *Jama-Kharch* vide dated November 20, 1800.[2] records that the excise income of the year 1799 from salt lakes was as such· From Pachbhadra, it was rupees 1,00,000, from Didwana, it was rupees 50,000, from Nawa, it was rupees 70,000 and from Sambhar, it was 69,750 rupees. Sutherland in his report in 1847 refers to the yield of Sambhar to three lacs rupees per annum [3]

At the time of need, other means to raise the income of the State were also adopted. The *Kotwal* would raise money from the money lenders of the town. Torrens reported to Colebrooke on August 9, 1828 that the *Sarrafs* of Jodhpur had shut up their shops as the *Kotwal* demanded rupees twenty thousand and maltreated them Man Singh sold the office of *Daftari* for rupees 6,000 in 1842.[5] The state also ordered the officials, *Mahajans* and other money lending people to pay

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dark-half of Asvina vs 1893/Oct. 2, 1836, A B No V p. 74 Jd.)
Swarkharch was tax on the maintenance of cavalry (F P Feb, 28 1842 No, 22)
Dana tax was levied from Jagirdars, when the State checked their accounts. (Mertia Khyat Vol. II (granth no. 1) p 1356 Basta no. 10L. Jd.)
Faujbal-the tax was levied from the frontier villages. (Hash Bahi no. iv pp 94-97 Jd.)

1. Sutherlands' report dated August 7, 1847 No. 845 p. 30.
2. File concerning Jama-Kharch No. 43 (DK) Jd
3. Sutherland's report dated August 7, 1847. 845 p. 11.
4. A letter from Torrens to Colebrooke dated August 9. L.S F. P. September 5, 1828, No. 20.
5. A letter from Ludlow to Sutherland dated Fe
Jod. ix 1843, p 292

the state bills.[1] *Oswal Mahajans* were indigenous bankers of the state.[2] Sometime they migrated to the eastern part of India and became '*Jagatseths*'[3]

The State revenues, yielded through different sources, are sometimes mentioned in contemporary records. In 1805, Charles Metcalfe estimated these revenues to rupees fifty lacs a year.[4] The file concerning *Jama-Kharch* vide letter dated 5th day of the dark-half of *Karttika* vs. 1884/October 25, 1827, records the revenue of the State for the months from July to October, 1827, to the amount of rupees 4,74,299 and six aunas.[5] According to Sutherland, when he wrote on June 10, 1839[6] the State yielded 20 lacs rupees a year. The total revenue, as Wilson refers,[7] might be estimated at rupees 37 lacs a year.

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1. A letter from Bijay Singh to Bohras of Nandwana dated 30th day of the dark-half of Pausha vs. 1823/Dec. 31, 1766. A. B. No. iv. p. 286. Jd.; File concerning Jama-Kharch no. 44 (DK) Jd.
2. A letter from Macnaghten to Alves dated Oct. 9, 1838. F.P. Jan. 23. 1839 No. 27; File concorning Jama Kharch no. 44. (DK) Jd.
3. K. K. Datta. p. 172. (Dr. Datta refers to a family of Hira Nand Shahu, migrating from Marwar to Bengal and Bihar for banking purposes. It became the family of Jagatseths).
4. Hamilton Vol. ii p. 60.
5. File concerning Jama-Kharch no. 44. (DK) Jd.
6. (Appendix No. 57) F. P. July 24, 1839. No. 38.
7. Wilson Vol. viii p. 447.

ERRATA

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
3	11	Mouros,[3]	Mouros [3]
"	17	Dilkhusha	Dilkusha
"	18	travellers[4]	travellers.[6]
10	1ff	Akhdarat	Akhbarat
"	2ff.	Jedhe Sakivali	Jedhe Sakavali
"	"	tbe year	the year
11	8	Dillir Khan	[illegible]
15	2ff.	Ahkbarat	[illegible]
16	ff last but one	Ibid	[illegible]
18	16	Mathathes	[illegible]
19	2ff. Line no 9	He the Emp[illegible]	[illegible]
"	" last line	Siwana	[illegible]
29	12 and 16	Jat S[illegible]	[illegible]
37	Top heading	Rath[illegible]	[illegible]
41	(D)	[illegible]	[illegible]
"	Last line	Pa[illegible]	[illegible]
47	7	[illegible]	[illegible] 25
52	Last line	[illegible]	[illegible]
57	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
58	5	[illegible]	[illegible]
"	ff 1	[illegible]	[illegible]03,
62	9	[illegible]	[illegible] 264
65	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
66	7	[illegible]	[illegible]-245,
67	2	[illegible]	[illegible], 218
"	4 from [illegible]	[illegible]	43
68	3 ff	[illegible]	[illegible], 113,

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
68	6 ff third line	Dafter	Daftar
71	3 from below	Afihgans	Afgans.
72	7 ff	Dewaa	Dewan
73	5 ff Second line	Facing page 103	facing page 72
74	7 ff fifth line	Bijar vilas	Bijay vilas
77	Last but one	falicitetion	felicitation
84	6ff Sixth line	Provocation,	Provocation.
,,	,, Last line	Facing page 297	Facing page 231
90	2 ff	Facing page 103	Facing page 72
93	10	erritory	territory
98	17	freindship	friendship
103	2	in time. no	in time, no
106	10	agains tthe	against the
,,	12	Soveregnty	Sovereignty
121	(1)	Sinda	Sindia
124	ff Second line	144	123
,,	1 ff Eigth line	facing page 146	facing page 125
126	1 ff Tenth line	facing page 147	facing page 125
149	last but one line	Corces	forces
164	7	Vyas Surajnath	Ayas Surat Nath
166	2-3	Vyas Surath Nath	Ayas Surat Nath
169	third from below	Vyas Bin Nath	Ayas Bhimnath
187	6 from below	Repuest	Request
193	2	Fiendly	Friendly
		March 180,	March 1805,
196	2 from below	Jadhpur	Jodhpur
211	10	Jajappa	Jayappa.
225	7	Jaswan	Jasvant
231	3ff	chhatri facing page v	chhatri facing page 231
,,		Jaswant	Jasvant
233	17	A kharias	A kharita
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258	4	pp. 77-78	p. 67
260	3	p. 166-167	pp. 141-142
261	4	p. 239	p. 201
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265	3	Vyas jai karan	Vyas Jaskaran
288	3from below		

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